A B C of History

THE FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN CIVILIZATION

H. C. THOMAS *and* W. A. HAMM

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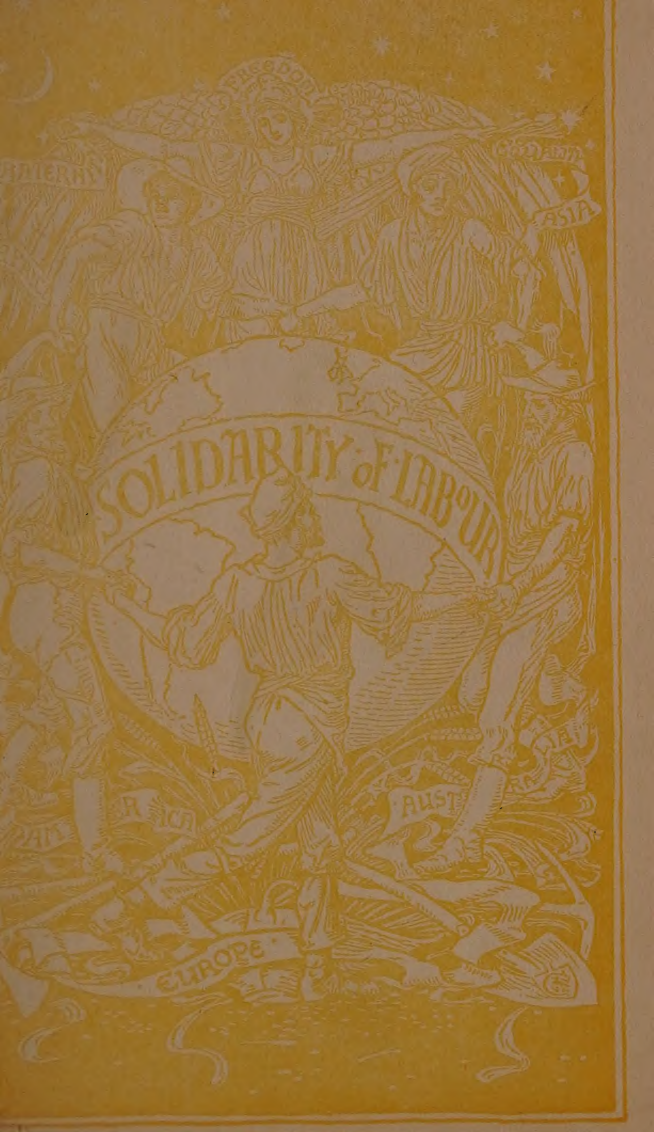
SOLIDARITY of LABOUR
ASIA
EUROPE

The A B C of History
Volume I

The Foundations of Modern Civilization

By H. C. THOMAS
AND W. A. HAMM

NEW YORK
VANGUARD PRESS

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VANGUARD PRINTINGS
First—May, 1927

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

489

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THE FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN CIVILIZATION

CHAPTER I

The Purpose and Scope of History

History is the study of the past of mankind. It includes everything that man has done or thought since he first appeared on the earth. History is continually growing, not merely because time rolls on and days and months and years become part of the past, but also because our knowledge of the past is steadily increasing. Patient scholars are looking through dusty archives searching out records, translating, codifying, indexing them, questioning their genuineness, testing their reliability, piecing them together. New interpretations and explanations of past events are continually being made. This has gone on for centuries, but recently new allies have come to the aid of the historian. The archaeologist digging into the earth has found bones, tools, weapons and utensils of men who lived long before the ancient Egyptians. The anthropologist, using the material of the archaeologist, studying the existing peoples of the African jungles and the South Sea Islands, who, remote from the rest of the world, are still in a primitive state, is able to show us how man lived thousands of years before he left any written records. The psychologist, who teaches us how our brains work; the sociologist, who shows us how man acts in his relations with other men, have increased our understanding of man's past activities. The natural scientists, astronomers, geologists, physicists, chemists, biologists—in teaching us more about the universe,

the earth, and the everyday things about us, have also extended our knowledge and understanding of man's past.

The studies of the scientists have revolutionized our whole conception of the earth's place in the universe, of man's place on earth and of the antiquity of the earth and of man. We no longer believe that the earth is the center of the universe about which the sun and stars revolve but know that it is a mere speck in almost limitless space. Although estimates of the age of the earth vary greatly, most scientists agree that it is at least 100,000,000 years old. For the first 25,000,000 years the earth was a mass of burning matter on which no life could exist. Gradually it cooled, rocks rose out of the waters, the land began to be distinguished from the sea and life appeared. It took 70,000,000 years more for life to develop from the jelly-fish through the sea scorpion, the fish, the reptile, the bird, to the mammal, an animal which suckles its young. This leaves a period of 5,000,000 years for the mammals, and of this time man has probably existed for the past half million. These dates and periods are, of course, guesses, but they are the guesses of scientists, made after years of study.

During the half million years of man's existence great changes have taken place in the earth's surface and also in its climate. Mountain ranges have risen and sunk, rivers have taken new courses, coast lines have changed. Geologists tell us that 500,000 years ago England was part of the mainland of Europe and that no Mediterranean Sea separated Europe from Africa. Since 500,000 B. C. Europe and North America have passed through what geologists call four glacial periods or ice ages—periods when the climate became steadily colder, snow fell the year round and finally great glaciers pushed their way down from the north, covering most of the northern hemisphere with a thick covering of ice, destroying all but the hardiest life. After a few thousand years the ice receded only to come again after a period of warmth. We are now in the period of recovery from the fourth glacial age.

The first man, if we may call him man, differed but little

from the other animals that shared the earth with him. He had no spoken language; he did not know the use of fire; he had neither tools, clothes or houses. His whole existence was brutish but he was the highest of the brutes. He walked on his hind legs; he used his fore feet as hands; he had a larger brain case than the other animals. After a time he learned to use stones roughly chipped to fit the hand to help him in killing small animals for food or in tearing to pieces the carcasses of large animals he found dead. These crude implements are the first traces that he left of his existence.

We know very little of the first 400,000 years or more of man's history. We can only guess how he stumbled upon the use of fire, how he developed a language, how he learned to domesticate animals. We do not know how he survived the ice ages in Europe—or indeed whether he did survive—whether the men who lived in Europe after the last ice age were descended from the men who left their stone implements there centuries before or whether they were another race who migrated there from the south. What we may be reasonably certain of is that after the ice of the last glacial age receded some 200,000 years ago there lived in Europe men who had made relatively great progress along the road to civilization. These men, usually called paleolithic or rough stone age men, although they left no written records, left so many traces in the rocks—their tools, weapons, clothes and bones, that we may draw a fairly accurate picture of how they lived. They were true men, not so greatly different physically or in brain power from the men of today.

We live today a life vastly different from that of the stone age men. We have learned many of the secrets of nature; we have literature, art, science, religions, laws, governments that they could never have dreamed of. In short, we are civilized. But this civilization of which we are so justly proud is the accumulation of thousands of years. Man's greatest advantage over the animals is his ability to hand on his knowledge to succeeding generations. Generation after generation has added its bit, sometimes great, sometimes

very small, to the fund of knowledge which makes up our present civilization. Deprived of this heritage of the ages, dependent on our brain power alone, we would be no better off than the men of the stone age. In fact we would be worse off for we have become so accustomed to, so dependent on, our inherited knowledge that we could not survive the hardships which our primitive ancestors endured as a matter of course. Graham Wallas, the English sociologist, sums up the importance of our inherited knowledge in his book, *Our Social Heritage*, as follows:

"If the earth were struck by one of Mr. Wells' comets, and if, in consequence, every human being now alive were to lose all the knowledge and habits which he had acquired from preceding generations (though retaining unchanged all his own powers of invention and memory and habituation) nine tenths of the inhabitants of London or New York would be dead in a month, and ninety-nine per cent of the remaining tenth would be dead in six months. They would have no language to express their thoughts, and no thoughts but vague reveries. They could not read notices, or drive motors or horses. They would wander about led by the inarticulate cries of a few naturally dominant individuals, drowning themselves as thirst came on, in hundreds at the riverside landing places, looting those shops where the smell of decaying food attracted them, and perhaps at the end stumbling on the expedient of cannibalism. Even in the country districts men could not invent, in time to preserve their lives, methods of growing food, or obtaining animals, or making fire, or so clothing themselves as to endure a Northern winter."

The task of history is to show how our present civilization has developed, and what contributions different peoples have added. A most important fact to keep in mind is that civilization has developed very slowly, that even the oldest written records cover a mere fragment of the whole history of humanity. James Harvey Robinson, to whom all students of history owe a great deal and from whom we have borrowed

many of the ideas of this chapter, has illustrated this point in his book, *The Mind in the Making*, as follows:

"Let us imagine the whole gradual and laborious attainments of mankind compressed into the compass of a single lifetime. Let us assume that a single generation of men have in fifty years managed to accumulate all that now passes for civilization. They would have to start, as all individuals do, absolutely uncivilized, and their task would be to recapitulate what has occupied the race for, let us guess, at least five hundred thousand years. Each year in the life of a generation would therefore correspond to ten thousand years in the progress of the race. On this scale it would require forty-nine years to reach a point of intelligence which would enable our self-taught generation to give up their ancient and inveterate habits of wandering hunters and settle down here and there to till the ground, harvest their crops, domesticate animals and weave their rough garments. Six months later, or half through the fiftieth year, some of them in a particularly favorable situation, would have invented writing and thus established a new and wonderful means of spreading and perpetuating civilization. Three months later another group would have carried literature, art, and philosophy to a high degree of refinement and set standards for the succeeding weeks. For two months our generation would have been living under the blessings of Christianity; the printing press would be but a fortnight old and they would not have had the steam engine for quite a week. For two or three days they would have been hastening about the globe in steamships and railroad trains and only yesterday would they have come upon the magical possibilities of electricity. Within the last few hours they would have learned to sail in the air and beneath the waters, and have forthwith applied their newest discoveries to the prosecution of a magnificent war on the scale befitting their high ideals and new resources. This is not so strange, for only a week ago they were burning and burying alive those who differed from the ruling party in regard to salvation,

eviscerating in public those who had new ideas of government, and hanging old women who were accused of traffic with the devil. All of them had been no better than vagrant savages a year before. Their new knowledge was altogether too recent to have gone very deep, and they had many institutions and many leaders dedicated to the perpetuation of outworn notions which would otherwise have disappeared. Changes had taken place so slowly and so insensibly for so long that only a very few persons could be expected to realize that not a few of the beliefs that were accepted as eternal verities were due to the inevitable misunderstandings of a savage."

Only by keeping constantly in mind this idea of man's antiquity can we understand either the past or the present. During almost all of his existence on the earth man has been a savage. Progress for thousands of years was slow, almost imperceptible. As we get nearer to our own times the rate of progress quickens. We are advancing along certain lines today more rapidly than ever before in history. Due to the development of the natural sciences man's knowledge of and control over nature has been greater in the past hundred years than in all the preceding 500,000 years that he has been on earth. Although our whole mode of life—our knowledge of the world, our ways of work, the houses we live in, the food we eat, the clothes we wear, the laws we make, the amusements we enjoy—has been revolutionized in the past 100 years, our ways of thinking, many of our ideas, beliefs and prejudices have remained almost unchanged. However cultured we may be, however we may try to guide our lives by the rule of reason, we at times show our savage ancestry by our laziness, our carelessness, our greed, our fits of rage, our proneness to follow the crowd rather than to think for ourselves. Great disasters such as floods, fires, or wars bring out our savage characteristics to the highest degree.

At first thought this idea of man's slow development seems discouraging. How can we hope to progress to a better life, to abolish poverty, disease and war if man's im-

pulses and emotions are dominated by the thousands of years that his ancestors spent in savagery? In reality, the fact that man has developed from a savage state by gradual additions of culture is most encouraging, for not only have the good characteristics been gradually developed and passed on to future generations but also the bad. Ways of thinking, ideas and prejudices which make for evil in the world today are not part of man's nature but part of his inherited culture. They may therefore be changed, just as man's belief in magic or in the divine right of kings has been changed. No one who understands the progress that man has made would dare to put a limit on the progress of which he is capable.

Only the barest outlines of the record of the development of civilization are available even for much of that relatively short period since man has learned to write. It would take several lifetimes, however, to read the records that do exist of man's past actions and thoughts. It is evident that any book must tell only part of the story, leaving out vast portions. What then shall we include and what shall we leave out? This will be determined by our purpose in studying history.

Various reasons for studying history have been given. To some, history has been merely a form of literature to be read as we would read any interesting book or essay. Others have urged that history be studied in order that we may learn by past examples, that we may solve our present problems by doing as wise men of former times have done under similar conditions. Others would teach history in order to teach morals, or to inculcate patriotism. In this busy world where there is so much to be learned, none of these aims seems to justify the study of history. History is an important branch of literature, but if it is to be read for its literary qualities alone many will prefer to read other forms. The examples of former statesmen and generals are of little value to statesmen and generals of today, for conditions exactly similar to those of a former time are never reproduced. A study of Caesar's methods against the Gauls would have been of little

use to General Foch in his counter offensive against the Germans in 1918. Nor could Lloyd George, in handling the Irish question of 1922, depend on Gladstone's example. If history is a record of the truth,—and if it is not it is worse than useless,—the moral lessons will be of little value, for the righteous have not always triumphed in the past nor have the guilty always been punished. It is obvious that no nation has a monopoly of greatness or of virtue and that an unbiased study of history is as likely to lead to love of another country as it is to love of one's own.

The purpose of education is to enable a man to adapt himself to his environment,—and so fulfill some useful purpose in the society in which he lives. The study of any subject which enables a man to understand better the complex world about him is worth while. Judged by this standard the study of history is amply justified, for the ideas, the customs and the institutions of today have all been developed from the past and only by studying the past can we thoroughly understand the world of today. So we find our choice of what facts we shall study already made for us,—those facts which have influenced the ideas, customs and institutions of the modern world. As the recent past has influenced the present more than the remote past, a large part of our attention will be devoted to the study of the past one hundred and fifty years.

With this aim in view it is evident that events are not so important as institutions and customs, that the unusual and spectacular is less worth while than the ordinary. Kings and nobles must give way to the common man. Trade routes must receive more attention than military expeditions and the invention of machines more than the schemes of diplomats. In short we must try to see how people have lived at various times,—what work they have done, what their relations to their neighbors and to more distant people have been, how they have been governed, what they have known of the world, what they have thought, and what changes they have made. Mere facts in themselves, however, will tell us little. We must try to look beneath the facts, to see their connection

with each other, to search out causes and results. We must ask why and how as well as what and when.

It is our purpose in this book then to discuss the following main lines of man's development: (1) Economic,—how man has made his living and accumulated wealth; (2) political,—how man has been governed at different periods; (3) social,—man's relation to his fellows; (4) intellectual,—what man has known and thought.

It is obvious that these lines of development are not exclusive, that they overlap at many points. It is impossible to describe economic development without mentioning social and political, or political without mentioning economic. It is not important that they be kept distinct or that every event be classified in one of these categories, and no attempt will be made to do so. They are merely convenient divisions to help us in summarizing the changes in man's mode of life.

It should also be noted that the periods into which history is commonly divided and of which we shall make use are largely arbitrary. We speak of ancient times, medieval times and modern times but there is no sharp line dividing one from the other. For instance the year 476 is commonly given as the date for the "fall" of Rome, the dividing point between ancient and medieval times, but no great difference can be discovered in the world one hundred years before and one hundred years after 476. No one at that time realized that he was passing from one era to another. Similarly it is impossible to fix a year or even a century as the beginning of modern times. When we speak of the period from 1789 to 1815 as the period of revolution, or the twentieth century as the century of nationalism, we are merely using convenient generalizations, not adequately describing the periods. All history is the story of a slow, gradual development with one period imperceptibly merging into the next. At times, the stream of progress moves rapidly, at times it slows down. The point to be remembered is that it constantly moves.

We must remember that our knowledge of the past, even of much of the recent past, is fragmentary. It is only in

comparatively recent times that records have been carefully kept either by governments or by private individuals or associations. We are dependent, therefore, for our knowledge of much of the past on the writings of people who for one reason or another have attempted to describe their times. Many of the available accounts of the past were written merely to make a good story. Others were written to prove that some point of view, some religious belief, some individual, some institution, some nation was right,—or wrong. We know how much of our modern writing is of this sort,—for example, the many articles and books that have been published in the past few years on the history of Russia both by friends and opponents of the Bolsheviki. It is from such partisan accounts as these that we must draw our knowledge of many periods of the past. Even where writers have been honest in attempting to tell the truth accounts differ. Everyone sees any happening in the light of his own experience. For example, a country boy visiting New York for the first time would write a far different account of the six o'clock subway crush than a New York boy who went through it every day. Words, too, have different shades of meaning for different people. A large crowd may mean fifty or ten thousand. We may easily see how perfectly honest attempts to describe the same event may differ by comparing accounts of the same happening in two different newspapers. So we see that the historian who uses original sources has no easy task to decide what the facts were in a certain case even where he has relatively complete accounts, and in many cases historians disagree about facts.

Difficult as it is to know what the facts are, it is simple compared to knowing what facts mean. When we attempt to show the connection between facts, to assign causes and results, we are largely guessing. If our history is to be a real history, however, it must be scientific guessing, that is, it must seek first and last for the truth, it must find out what the facts really were and draw hypotheses from them without prejudice or bias. It is only quite recently that history has claimed to be scientific, that it has used the scientific

method of inductive reasoning,—discovering facts and drawing general conclusions from them rather than starting from general conclusions and arriving at facts. Many of our conclusions about the causes and results of past events are hypotheses, just as the doctrine of evolution or the atomic theory are hypotheses. Many of our hypotheses about the past have been changed as our knowledge has been increased, just as many scientific hypotheses have been modified or abandoned. Many of our present conclusions about the past will doubtless be changed in the light of later knowledge.

Although history may justly claim to be a science it can never be an exact science like physics or chemistry. History, like the other social sciences, deals with man, and man is ever a variable factor. The chemist or the physicist can in a large measure modify conditions to suit himself, can bring about an ideal environment for his experiments. The historian can not, however, reconstruct the past, so his hypotheses must always be more tentative than those of the natural scientists.

A point, then, to bear in mind in reading any history is that we are reading the opinion of the author, to some extent in regard to the facts and to a large extent in regard to conclusions to be drawn from the facts. We are always free to reject this opinion if we find it based on insufficient data or if it shows evidence of prejudice. We should hold a critical attitude toward historians. Are they trying to arrive at the truth or are they trying to prove their own theories correct? Are they using all available facts or only such as serve their purpose? We would indeed be blind to the teachings of history if we accepted a statement merely because it was in a book or because it was made by a great man.

CHAPTER II

The Building of Modern Civilization—Early Contributions

PRIMITIVE MAN

Here and there throughout the world excavators and archaeologists are busy digging up bones and skulls, tools and weapons in an effort to learn more about the first men who lived upon the earth. We have no written records, but from fist-hatchets, arrow-heads, scrapers, stone and ivory needles found embedded in the rocks we can make some estimate, rough and inaccurate it is true, of the various steps in man's early progress.

The stages through which early man passed are variously classified; a common division is one based upon the kind of implement used. According to this classification there was (1) the Early Stone Age (Paleolithic), (2) the Middle Stone Age, and (3) the Late Stone Age (Neolithic). Another classification is based upon the way man obtained his food: (1) the Hunting and Fishing Stage, (2) the Pastoral Stage, (3) the Agricultural Stage.

Before considering each of these separately it is well to keep in mind the following points: (1) The record of the rocks indicates that primitive peoples existed everywhere throughout Asia, Europe and Africa (and probably the Americas). (2) The physical condition of the earth—mountains, rivers, seas, lakes, climate—underwent considerable changes during the babyhood of mankind. (3) The progress of primitive peoples, as indeed the progress of people today, was not equal in all places. Some developed much

more rapidly than others; all peoples did not pass through the same stages of civilization at same time, nor through all three. (4) What follows is an account, not of how any particular group or tribe progressed, but rather a general picture of the development of our primitive ancestors. With these four considerations in mind we can more intelligently understand what follows.

The Hunting and Fishing Stage

The words clearly indicate how our early ancestors obtained their food, but it would be wrong to suppose that they went hunting and fishing as we do on our vacations. We must picture these early hunters as naked, speechless, without arrows, spears, nets or hooks. These things primitive man had to devise; he started with his bare hands. The only respects in which man surpassed the beasts that threatened his extinction were his brain and the ability, later developed, to pass on to his offspring such knowledge as he might acquire. The former taught him how to use his hands to great advantage. He discovered that the stones at his feet could be used to kill, and in time he learned to shape and sharpen his tools to give them greater efficiency. As the centuries passed he developed a variety of crude stone implements. His cunning brain taught him to avoid the more ferocious animals. He had no definite home, but sought shelter in tree-top and cavern, wherever his search for game and wild-growing berries and shrubs might take him. The flesh of animals he ate raw, for thousands of years went by before man made his first and perhaps most important discovery, that of fire. There was no government, not even a tribal one, for men did not live in groups, but individually, each one struggling for himself. The only law was that of self-preservation. Might was right.

In the course of centuries man's grunts and yells, his shouts of joy and pain, came to have a definite meaning and slowly he developed a spoken language. He was then able to communicate his wants and needs to other men of the

forest. More important, he was able to teach the young those things he had found helpful in his own hard struggle to exist. And so our vast social heritage had its humble beginning. Were it not for the slow transmission of the painfully acquired experience of the race we would be still as our primitive ancestors. But through unnumbered centuries man has climbed and climbed the slow ascent, learning to fashion tools, learning the valuable use of fire, learning to speak. Finally he learned, how, we can only guess, that certain animals were less wild than others. The dog, the sheep, the cow, could be tamed and bred by man. Civilization leaped forward when man learned to domesticate wild animals.

The Pastoral Stage

We call it this because with domesticated animals man, though he still hunted and fished, spent most of his time taking care of the herds of cattle that grazed upon the grassy plains. The big advance of the Pastoral Stage over the Hunting and Fishing Stage lies in the fact that man was now more sure of his food supply. None the less he was still nomadic, for his flocks would soon eat up the food in one region and have to be driven in search of fresh pasture. Man also improved his tools in this period; he learned to sharpen and polish them, to use the bones, the horns and ivory tusks of animals. He learned to float a log or make a raft and travel downstream—the beginning of navigation.

The Agricultural Stage

This stage began when man learned, probably by accident, that by sowing the oats, barley and other grains that grew wild in certain places, he could grow them in any fertile spot. This discovery enabled him to give up his nomadic life. He was now reasonably sure of his food supply, and could settle in villages and towns.

These various changes were accompanied by increased perfection of tools. Burned clay was used to make all sorts of pottery. The women no longer crudely sewed together the

skins of animals for clothing, but learned to weave cloth of flax. The settled life of the village communities permitted men to follow specialized occupations; there were tool-makers, wood-workers, potters, and even miners. These miners dug into the earth in search of finer deposits of flint for their stone tools, using deer horns for picks. These primitive people did not, however, discover until quite late the use of metals.

With people living in permanent settlements and producing varied products it was natural that trade should develop. Different communities, by reason of their location or the particular skill developed by their inhabitants, produced different commodities and exchanged them with each other. This contact of different groups for the exchange of goods resulted inevitably in an exchange of ideas as well. Trade has ever been a potent factor in the development and spread of civilization.

During the long centuries while man was learning to speak, learning the use of fire, perfecting his tools, domesticating plants and animals, he was also developing many of the institutions, social, economic, political and religious, which play such important parts in our lives today. We can only guess how these institutions developed, although anthropologists, by their studies of primitive peoples in various parts of the modern world, have helped us to understand something of the process.

Among the earliest people there was of course no such thing as private property. To each belonged what he could find unless some stronger one took it away. We can imagine the bitter fight that took place when one of our remote ancestors, about to gorge himself upon the carcass of some huge beast that he had found, was interrupted by another who tried to take it from him. Probably the first things that were treated as private property were weapons and tools. With the domestication of animals the concept of ownership was extended to flocks and to the right to use grazing ground, although at first this was ownership by a group, not by individuals. Doubtless many a bloody battle has been fought

over the right to some grassy pasture. Finally, with the beginnings of agriculture, there developed the idea of private ownership of land. The institution of private property has been an important element in the development of civilization, at least on its material side, but it has also from the dim past down to the present day been a constant source of strife.

The earliest human beings had no government, no social ties, no idea of law. We do not know how or when the idea of permanent marriage developed, but sometime quite early in the history of the race the family appeared, sometimes based on polygamy (one man with several wives) sometimes on polyandry (one woman with several husbands), sometimes on monogamy (one man with one wife). Perhaps man's first ideas of government grew from the authority exercised by the father or the mother over the family. Perhaps they grew from the conquest of one group by another and the ruling of the conquerors over the vanquished. At any rate as the family expanded into the clan the authority of the father or leader steadily increased. As man improved his ways of getting his food supply, the size of the groups grew. Clans expanded or united, voluntarily or by conquest, to form tribes. As the units became larger the necessity for government increased. The old man of the tribe, the patriarch, the chief, was the arbiter of disputes, made decisions, and led the tribe in war. The tribal instinct developed; man became loyal to his tribe and its traditions. In this way law developed. The earliest laws were not rules made by a legislature or by a ruler; they were customs sanctified by long usage. As tribal loyalty grew it became illegal to do a thing differently from the way it had always been done.

Along with the development of government came that of religion. There is abundant evidence that primitive men believed in some eternal spirit and in a life after death. This is clear from the care they took of their dead, carefully burying them and placing beside them the weapons and tools which might be of service to them in the future world. Their religious concepts were, of course, vague and indefinite,

All things that they could not understand they believed to be caused by spirits, and most of nature's phenomena they did not understand. There was not one god but many; the sun, the moon, the stars were gods; the tree, the mountain, the river, lived and spoke. Often gods took on weird, fantastic shapes and forms, but naturally enough these gods were considered beings like themselves with the same passions, hates and loves. The angry gods that frightened them or caused the rivers to overflow and flood their villages could be placated by offerings and ceremonies. The good and kindly gods that smiled upon their fortunes must be honored and praised. The religious ideas of the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans were not much different from these ideas of early man.

Gradually primitive man developed a set of fears and aversions, loves and hatreds, that found religious expression. There were certain things he should not do (tabus); others he must do; certain actions always had to be performed in exactly the same way. We still have many of these tabus and fancies, such as fear of the number thirteen and horror at the thought of breaking a mirror. Each tribe developed its special tabus, its special prohibitions, loves and aversions, and its own particular way of doing things. Around these notions was built up the idea of tribal loyalty and unity. To do anything differently from the way in which it had been done, to criticise or ridicule or question tribal folklore made one an outcast. Man was and is naturally conservative, cherishing old ways and old ideas, passing them on to generation after generation.

To propitiate the gods with sacrifices, to conduct properly the religious games, festivals, and ceremonies, to keep alive the tribal tabus and customs there developed a class of men, separate and apart from the rest, the priestly class. They knew how to appease the gods, how to obtain favors; it was their special task to preserve the tribal traditions. In time they came to be venerated and to have special rights and privileges and to enjoy a high position in primitive society. In early times they often possessed more influence than kings and

rulers: the temple was more important than the palace.

The religious beliefs of these early ancestors of ours are responsible for some important developments, for it was probably due to the priests that any effort was made to develop the minds of the young and train them in the ways and traditions of the tribe. Religious beliefs fostered investigation into the movement of the heavenly bodies and into the cause of natural phenomena that eventually led to the discovery of a number of important facts. Furthermore, the building efforts of primitive man received their greatest impetus from his belief in a life after death. Man has always done his best to erect suitable monuments to the memory of the dead. The first man merely used a sand pile to mark the last resting place of a loved one; later he found that a more permanent grave would be made by gathering together the stones that lay about; slowly, after thousands of years the sand and stone heap grew into the colossal monuments—obelisks and pyramids—erected by the Egyptians on the banks of the Nile.

Our review of primitive man's life and habits leads us to the dawn of recorded history. We have spoken of man's slow ascent from the savage state. He learned to make tools and weapons; he discovered the use of fire; he developed a spoken, but not a written language; he learned to domesticate animals and to cultivate the fields. These accomplishments made possible a settled life and the beginnings of law and government. His religious ideas moulded subsequent religious thought. Even in primitive society we have noted the origin of social classes, priests and kings, common people, and, later, slaves. But without writing, without ships, and without metals, primitive man could advance no further. These gifts to civilization were developed in Egypt and Mesopotamia some five or six thousand years ago. With their coming we enter the period of recorded history.

THE RACES OF MANKIND

What is a race? When we speak of the Negro race or the Mongolian race we have certain definite physical characteris-

tics in mind. When we speak of the German race or the Slavonic race we think primarily of language and political relations. According to the ethnologists (students of the science of the races of man), a race is a biological group differentiated by certain physical characteristics such as color of skin, hair or eyes, shape of head, stature. From this point of view there is no such thing as a German race or a Slavonic race. When we use the term, German race, we mean the people who speak German. It is obvious that there are Germans of various physical types—short, tall, light, dark, long-headed, round-headed.

There is no agreement among ethnologists as to whether all mankind has descended from one common stock or from several separate distinct stocks originating in different parts of the world. In other words it is a question whether physical differences, that is, the difference between the negro and the white, are due to differences in environment or to different origin. There is, moreover, no agreement as to how many distinct races there are or have been in the world. The simplest classification and one commonly accepted, is that of Huxley, who divided mankind into three major races, the white or Caucasian, the yellow or Mongolian and the black or Negro, with various sub-races developed from contact of two or more of these. Other classifications have distinguished from four to thirty distinct races. However long the list, there are various groups that defy exact classification.

What all reputable ethnologists are agreed upon is that today there are no pure races in the world. Everywhere, even among the three main races, there has been mixture. Peoples have migrated and mingled, conquered and been conquered for thousands of centuries until it is impossible today to find any large group which has all the physical qualities assigned to one race no matter how general or how minute the classification. Indeed, it is almost impossible to find an individual who is a perfect specimen of his race.

It is also generally, though not universally, agreed among ethnologists that it is impossible in the present state of knowl-

edge to speak authoritatively about superior and inferior races. We do not know enough about races to say that one race is inherently more able than another. Certain peoples are of course much more advanced than others but no one can say that this is due to natural qualities rather than to environment,—climate, location, natural resources. The negro may be inferior, as some pseudo-scientists glibly assure us, but what white people have accomplished more under similar conditions? Even if we admit the superiority of a certain people, to which of the various racial stocks that make up this people shall we assign credit for the superiority? Have the great accomplishments of the English, for example, been due to the Britons, the Romans, the Angles and Saxons or the Normans?

Many errors have arisen from the assumption that people who speak the same language or languages which have developed from the same stem language are of the same biologic race. Ethnologists have proven that this is a false assumption. There are many instances of people of the same nation and language who have entirely different physical characteristics, as, for example, the tall, light, round-headed Frenchman of Normandy and the short, dark, long-headed Frenchman of Provence. Philologists (students of languages) have discovered some fifty entirely distinct languages among the American Indians, although they are usually classified as being of the same race.

An outstanding example of the confusion of language with race is the case of the so-called Aryan peoples. Early in the nineteenth century philologists discovered a relationship between the Greek, Latin, German, English, Scandinavian and Sanskrit languages. Certain stem words appear in all of them, making it clear that they had a common origin. These languages are called Aryan or Indo-European. The assumption was made that all peoples speaking these languages were of the same racial stock, descended from one "mother-folk." Various guesses were made as to the location of the cradle-land of this ancestral tribe. The terms Aryan people, Aryan race, Aryan culture, became common.

In 1854, Gobineau, a Frenchman, published his *Essay on the Inequalities of the Human Races* in which he asserted that all the important accomplishments of humanity had been made by the Aryan race. Patriotic authors, accepting this theory as proven, vied with each other in proving that their people were of pure Aryan stock. Aryans came to be looked upon as supermen and since they were superior to other peoples they were justified, even honor bound, to force other peoples to accept their standards of civilization. This theory, the "white man's burden" as Kipling called it, is one of the main justifications offered by the western nations for their conquest of backward peoples.

Recently a new development of the Aryan myth has been put forth by pseudo-scientists and one hundred per cent patriots,—the theory of Nordic supremacy. According to this theory not only are the Aryans superior to all other peoples, but all the great things done by the Aryans have been done by the Nordic branch of the Aryans, the Anglo-Saxons, Germans and Scandinavians. To many Englishmen this theory, coming just at the time when dark skinned people in Egypt, India and China were rebelling against English control, has been most comforting. This theory also has wide currency in the United States. Not only have charlatans and propagandists seized upon it to support their favorite plans but many men of substantial accomplishments in various fields have accepted it. It is basic in the philosophy of the Ku Klux Klan. Eugenic societies preach the necessity of breeding from our best stock,—of course the Nordic. Our new immigration law encourages immigration from northern countries and discourages it from southern and eastern Europe.

In spite of its widespread acceptance the theory of either Nordic or Aryan supremacy is nonsense. There is an Aryan language but there is no Aryan race and the term Aryan culture is most indefinite. Scientists say it is as foolish to speak of an Aryan race as it would be to speak of a blue-eyed grammar or a hook-nosed dictionary. No people of Europe can claim to be purely or even largely Nordic. Many of the great

accomplishments of so-called Nordic peoples have been achieved by men who had no Nordic characteristics. The great civilizations of Greece and Rome were one hundred per-cent non-Nordic. Those of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Arabia and China were not even Aryan. Perhaps in the future we shall know more about races, but at the present time the person who talks of racial superiority or emphasizes the importance of inherent racial characteristics should be called upon to prove his statements.

EGYPT AND THE NEAR EAST

Long ago the Greek historian Herodotus referred to Egypt as the gift of the Nile. Every summer the Nile overflows its banks, receding in the autumn and leaving on either side a deposit of rich loam which transforms the sandy wasteland into a most fertile region. The Egypt we speak of is a narrow strip of land about fifteen miles wide and some seventy miles long in the northeastern corner of Africa. It is in this fertile valley that one of the earliest civilizations developed.

Separated from Egypt by the Red Sea and the Arabian desert is another of the most fertile spots in the world. It is called Mesopotamia, both in ancient and modern times, because it lies between two rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates.

This entire region, including Mesopotamia, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, the Aegean sea and the Balkan peninsula we refer to as the Near East. To the ancient inhabitants themselves it was the Orient, the Land of the Rising Sun. The borders of their world extended to India, but when later discoveries indicated that the world extended still further to the east, the custom was adopted of referring to these new regions as the Far East. Here, too, a civilization developed contemporaneous at least with that of Egypt.

It is not our purpose here to recount in any detail the history of the people of these two fertile valleys. We are simply interested in endeavoring to find out in what way they have affected the world's progress. We will not follow therefore the various steps in the long development of Egyptian and

Mesopotamian civilization, nor will we tell how one after another the Sumerians and Akkadians, Babylonians and Assyrians, Hyksos and Hittites, Medes and Persians, invaded these regions and achieved some degree of power and mastery.

The people who inhabited these valleys began to develop a definite civilization about six thousand years ago, that is, about 4000 B. C. Let us recall that primitive man had been struggling upward for perhaps 500,000 years and that he had succeeded in learning how to domesticate animals and cultivate the fields. These regions with their warm climates and fertile soils were bound to be much sought after by primitive peoples. Their history is a story, many times repeated, of a settled population conquered by a less civilized but more warlike nomadic tribe. The conquered are no longer killed as they were in earlier times but are kept to till the soil as slaves, serfs, or perhaps free tenants paying tribute or taxes to the conquerors who become the ruling class. The language, religion and customs of the two peoples are intermingled, the conquerors often adopting most of the civilization of the conquered but using their superior force to rule the more highly civilized people politically and exploit them economically. In this way originated a noble land-owning and fighting class and a working class to support them. In this way the first real states, class states, forerunners of our modern states, came into existence. This is one of the many contributions to our social heritage made by these eastern peoples.

It is not to be thought, however, that the Egyptian or Babylonian concept of government had much resemblance to our own. The word of the Pharaoh or King was law. He ruled absolutely, the people having no voice in the government. The king led his warriors against neighboring tribes, and if victorious, brought back the conquered tribes as slaves to work at building temples and pyramids. At first a king ruled one group of people, but as time wore on, the kings became ambitious and fought for the sake of power and territory. Ultimately the whole territory and all the peoples enclosed by the Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean and the Red Seas were

conquered by one people, called the Persians (sixth century B. C.). We can here witness the first big empire of history—one king ruling different peoples because of superior military strength.

Two discoveries of these ancient people which probably preceded their development of a governmental system were the use of metals and the invention of writing. The weapons of primitive man were made of stone. Somehow or other the Egyptians stumbled upon the use of copper and found that weapons made of it were more effective than the old stone weapons. It was not long before someone discovered that by adding tin the soft copper became a hard bronze and consequently there was ushered in what is sometimes called the Bronze Age. About 3000 B. C. iron was also discovered by these people, and ever since it has been man's most important metal.

Their settled life in the fertile valleys and their improved implements led to the manufacture of various articles which were sold first to their own and then to nearby peoples. Workers in wood and metal would open up shops in the streets of the villages and begin to sell their wares. Perhaps it was in order to keep a record of the business transactions that the inhabitants of the Nile valley finally evolved a picture system of writing called hieroglyphics, in which pictures came to represent syllables. In Mesopotamia a system of writing was used called cuneiform because of the wedge-shaped character of the figures. The Egyptians carved their pictures upon stone or wrote on rolls of papyrus, made from the papyrus plant that grew along the banks of the Nile. The people of the Tigris-Euphrates valley wrote chiefly with a sharp pointed stylus on slabs of clay, later baked into brick; hence the wedge shaped character. Until the last century it was not possible for scholars to read the records of the Egyptians and Babylonians. At the time of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798 one of his soldiers found a rock bearing three inscriptions, one in Greek, one in demotic (popular Egyptian), and one in hieroglyphics. Scholars surmised

that the three inscriptions meant the same thing. In 1821 a Frenchman, Champollion, succeeded in solving the problem, and since then our knowledge of Egyptian history has been tremendously increased. The rock upon which the inscriptions were found and which furnished the key to the language was found near Rosetta, in Egypt, and hence is referred to as the Rosetta Stone. A similar rock known as the Behistun Inscription performed the same service for the language of the Babylonians. Scholars possess many untranslated records of peoples who inhabited the Near East. We can expect that the future translations of these records will make more accurate, as well as enrich, our present knowledge of these early civilizations.

Because it was necessary to keep time records of loans and other business transactions involved in trade, the calendar was invented. It is sometimes said that the earliest date in history is 4241 B. C., the year in which the Egyptian calendar was introduced. Their year was divided into twelve moons (months) of thirty days each and included a holiday period of five days at the end of the year, making a year of three hundred and sixty-five days. They did not know that it was necessary to make a provision for leap year. The years were at first reckoned from some great event, and were later determined by the year of the king's rule. A similar calendar was developed in Mesopotamia by the Babylonians. From them we have also copied the convention of dividing the circle into 360 degrees. They used sixty as the central part of their numerical system instead of ten and the decimal system as we do. From these facts it is clear that considerable development in the science of mathematics, particularly in arithmetic and geometry, took place among these peoples, and their trade carried this civilization to all parts of the eastern world.

Their religious systems left a wide and deep influence. While these Near Eastern religions differed in many details their fundamental principles were the same. They not infrequently had the same gods, although with different names, and the same legends. All were polytheistic, that is, they be-

lieved in many gods, not one universal ruler as do most peoples today. They looked upon the sun, moon and stars as gods and as persons who had a life history similar to their own. The Egyptian frequently represented these gods as half man and half animal. They regarded the cat and the bull as sacred animals. Many of these early religions, particularly that of the Persians, formulated by Zoroaster and expressed in their Bible, called the *Zend-Avesta*, conceived of two eternal spirits in constant warfare with each other; Mazda, or Ormuzd, the god of light who created the world and all that is good and joyous, and Ahriman, the god of evil. Good angels and bad fought for their respective masters for the possession of the souls of men and after death the spirits of the good were carried to the dwelling place of Ormuzd while the bad were destined to a life of misery with Ahriman.

The primitive idea of tabus survived in most of these religions, a process of purification being necessary for anyone who became contaminated with a polluted object. Sacrifices of animals and sometimes of youths and maidens were made to placate the angry gods. Since much of the life of the people centered around religious rites and ceremonies, the priests formed a most important class. A belief in immortality was common to all these early religions. This explains why the Egyptians took such care of the dead, preserving their bodies as mummies. The kings, too, came to be venerated as gods, doubtless a royal scheme for gaining obedience and respect. In the king-god we can see the prototype of the idea, so universally accepted until the last few centuries, that the kings ruled by divine right.

Everywhere the religious life of the people gave rise to various forms of art, architecture, painting, sculpture and literature. Tombs, pyramids and temples are expressions of religious feeling on the part of the people, or at least of their rulers. Along the Nile we find the massive, compact, durable form of architecture, along the Tigris and Euphrates the tall and stately forms rising to the heavens and providing the priests with a sort of observatory from which they could

watch the godlike stars that ruled the destinies of man. Here we have the origin of astrology. The Babylonians believed that what takes place in the heavens indicates the course of events on earth below, and so it behooved the Babylonian priest to study the heavens and chart the stars. In so doing the Babylonians came upon some important astronomical truths and thus indirectly laid the foundations of the science of astronomy. Their literature is filled with legends of the gods, rules of action, letters and decrees of kings, poems and hymns. Some examples are the *Zend-Avesta,* and the *Egyptian Book of the Dead.* The following quotation from the *Egyptian Book of the Dead* gives some idea of the literature of these peoples and shows the close resemblance of their moral teachings to those still in vogue. In the other world the soul thus makes its defence: "I have never committed fraud; I have never vexed the widow; I have never committed any forbidden act; I have never been an idler; I have never taken the slave from his master; I never stole the bread from the temples; I never removed the provisions or the bandages from the dead; I never altered the grain measure; I never hunted sacred beasts; I never caught sacred fish; I am pure; I have given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked; I have sacrificed to the gods, and offered funeral feasts to the dead."

Two of these oriental peoples must be mentioned apart from the others because of the special influence they have had; namely, the Hebrews and the Phoenicians. The Hebrews, a nomadic tribe of shepherd people, are important because they have given to the world the Bible, the book in which all their sacred writings are collected and which, apart from its religious teachings, is universally considered one of the greatest books of all times. This sacred book of the Jews is also considered sacred by the Christians, who refer to it as the Old Testament. The Bible of the Jews recounts their history and tells of their belief in one Supreme Ruler of the universe. They held to this belief in a single God despite persecutions and despite the fact that all about them were

polytheistic tribes. This belief they have passed on to the world and today the religion of all civilized peoples is monotheistic (i. e., *mono,* one, *theus,* god).

The Phoenicians, a numerically small people, living on the easternmost fringe of the Mediterranean Sea, are singled out because they were the merchants and traders, the discoverers and explorers of the ancient world. Their cities, Sidon and Tyre, were the manufacturing centers of the ancient world. The Phoenicians settled colonies in all parts of the Mediterranean; one of these, the city of Carthage, became the great rival of Rome. Their fast sailing vessels brought tin from England and carried the products of the Nile to Mesopotamia. In travelling about the Mediterranean, stopping at Greece and Rome, Thebes and Nineveh, they performed a very important function—the spread of ideas. The civilization of Egypt they passed on to the people of the Tigris and the Euphrates, that of Babylon they carried to Greece; thus the ancient world came to have a kinship and unity which was finally merged in the great Roman Empire.

We have already noticed that at the top of the social structure in nearly all these eastern peoples were the kings, nobles and priests. Below them and far outnumbering them were the common people who devoted their lives to the homely tasks of plowing the fields, harvesting the crops, tending the sheep, grinding the corn and weaving the wool. They were not wealthy and had little chance to become so. Their homes were crude, one room or at most two room buildings, with but little furniture. They seldom owned any land. In Egypt a kind of serfdom prevailed. The land was considered the property of the king or nobles and the people had to turn over a fraction of their produce to them. Nearly everywhere the peasant was practically bound to the soil and plodded on, day after day, paying rent or taxes, rearing his family to follow in the same footsteps. As the years passed and civilization improved, his tools became better, his house more elaborate, his life more agreeable, but his lot remained unenviable.

With the use of iron and the development of ships and

trade a new class of workers arose, the artisans of the town who manufactured the goods that the Phoenician traders carried off to far-off places. There were shoemakers, potters, carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, glass workers, metal workers, weavers, dyers, clerks and bookkeepers—almost as many trades as we have today. For a long time goods were exchanged by barter, but about 1000 B. C. coins came into general use. Stores and shops lined the village streets and here and there one could see stalls of scribes who were ready to write letters or make a record of a business transaction, such, for example, as lending money at interest.

Still lower in the social scale were the slaves who came from several sources. (1) Prisoners of war. At first the male prisoners were usually killed, only the women being used by their captors. (2) Parents frequently sold their children into slavery. (3) Even free men would sell themselves when they had nothing to eat or could find no work. (4) Debtors were frequently sold as slaves. Slaves were often well-educated and some of them served as tutors to the children of wealthy nobles. Not infrequently they were just as well off as the peasants and artisans. In Babylon they were protected by law, permitted to hold property and to purchase their freedom. Slavery was one of the first methods used by man to secure a plentiful supply of cheap labor. It has endured among civilized people until quite recently; indeed, only a little more than one hundred years ago the slave trade was one of the most profitable businesses. Even today, while legal slavery does not exist in the civilized quarters of the world, certain peoples who pride themselves on their civilization virtually enslave large numbers of backward peoples in China, in India, and in the rubber forests of the Congo, or the diamond mines of Kimberley.

Woman occupied an inferior place in the social position of these oriental people. Wives were considered the property of their husbands and, except in Egypt, seldom owned property or possessed any rights or privileges. Women were frequently sold into slavery, with the result that female slaves flooded

the market. Marriage usually took place at an early age; it was a matter arranged between the parents of the bride and groom. Among the mass of the people a man ordinarily took but one wife and there was seldom any divorce. The wealthier frequently had two or more wives and divorce was common. It was the privilege of the man to divorce his wife when he pleased. It was difficult for the woman to secure a divorce. Little respect was shown to woman until Christianity, by its attitude towards marriage and divorce, gave her a new dignity and power. Only in the last half century has the "Feminist Movement," growing out of the economic independence conferred upon women by the Industrial Revolution, succeeded in winning for them, partially at least, legal and political equality.

Such were the social conditions of these early peoples. It is clear that it has not changed much in the twenty-five hundred years since their civilization passed to western Europe. Formal slavery is now extinct; kings no longer rule by divine right, but we still have our privileged classes and the unprivileged—the hard working peasants of the country and the dissatisfied artisans of the city.

Our debt to these oriental peoples is great. We have seen that they first developed a form of government, they invented a system of writing, and made some beginnings in the sciences of mathematics, astronomy and medicine. They made wonderful progress in architecture, sculpture and painting; they learned the use of metals; they developed shipping, trade and commerce; they explored and charted the Mediterranean. Industry developed among them, but few improvements were made in manufacturing or agricultural methods until the Industrial Revolution, a little more than one hundred years ago. Their religious ideas may seem to us strange and fantastic, yet they helped to mould our religious and philosophic thought and we still accept some of their ancient tabus and ideas. From the Hebrews there came the idea of one God and from them was to issue forth another great religion, Christianity.

GREECE

We leave our study of these inhabitants of Asia Minor and Egypt to turn to that of the Greeks. We are concerned primarily with the contributions which Greece has made to civilization and will give but the barest outline of Greek history. About 1000 B. C. there appeared in the easternmost of the three peninsulas that jut from southern Europe into the Mediterranean a people whose civilization was destined to influence profoundly the history of the world. The Greeks never called their country Greece nor themselves Greeks. It was a Latin name given them by their neighbors, the Romans. They called their country Hellas and themselves Hellenes, and consequently we often hear the phrase Hellenic culture and Hellenic civilization.

If you glance at the map of Greece you will notice that it is a mountainous country with few large rivers, but many bays, gulfs and harbors, so that no part of Greece is more than thirty miles from the sea. The mountains tended to separate the inhabitants into different political groups; the bays and harbors and the numerous islands introduced the people to the sea; the islands served as stepping stones across the Aegean to Asia Minor. And so these people early became great traders and colonizers; they left the crowded homeland to establish new centers of Hellenic culture along the coast of Asia Minor, in Sicily, in southern Italy. In southern France, Marseilles, or as it was first called, Massellia, was originally a Greek colony. The spread of the Greeks beyond their small peninsula and the consequent diffusion of Grecian culture helps to explain how it came to be so deep-seated and influential a factor in the world's life and thought.

The early legends of the Greeks tell of fierce wars with the peoples of Asia Minor that have been immortalized in the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer. In the fifth century B. C. the Greeks came into conflict with the powerful Persian Empire, then at its height. After conquering the Greek colonies in Asia Minor the Persians sent three expeditions against Greece. For

a time it seemed that all Greece would come under the Persian yoke, but the Greeks finally forgot their sectional jealousies long enough to drive back the invader and regain their colonies in Asia. Then for a short half century Athens, under the leadership of Pericles, was supreme in Greece. This was the "Golden Age" when the great intellectual gifts that Greece gave to the world were developed. Athens built up an empire by subjecting many of the surrounding cities and islands to her control. Sparta in the south built up another powerful league and the two fought a bitter struggle for supremacy, the Peloponnesian War. Sparta finally won, but the price of her victory was the end of Greece's greatness.

Exhausted by war the Greek cities fell an easy prey to an able conqueror from the north, Philip of Macedon. Philip died master of Greece and passed on his dream of further conquest to his son Alexander the Great. In 334 B. C. this ambitious and precocious youth started on an expedition which won him an empire stretching from Egypt through Asia Minor and Persia to India. Worn out by dissipation, Alexander died at the age of thirty-two. His empire crumbled to pieces after his death and remained in more or less political chaos until the Romans conquered the petty kings who claimed different parts of it. The conquests of Alexander had the important effect of spreading Greek culture. The Hellenization of the Alexandrian empire is of more importance than the military ventures of its founder. Greek civilization became widespread, was copied by the Romans, scattered throughout their empire and still finds expression in much of our art, literature and thought.

The great contributions of Greece to the world's civilization are political, intellectual and artistic. The center of Greek political life was the city state. There never was in ancient times a united, sovereign, independent Greece as there is today a modern Greece or France or England. Each one of the cities was independent of every other. Athens and Sparta, Thebes and Corinth were independent nations, yet the territory they controlled was not larger than some

of our modern cities. Hence we call them city states, that is, cities that were really states or nations. Frequently these city states entered into temporary leagues or unions as, for example, when they assisted one another in driving back the Persian hordes. Frequently, too, religious leagues existed for the worship of the gods. At times some of the more powerful cities succeeded in rendering others dependent upon and tributary to them. For example, Athens did this when she practically converted the confederacy of Delos into an Athenian empire and Sparta also dominated what is known as the Peloponnesian League. Besides these temporary and partial unions the Greeks of the various city states had much in common. They spoke, except for differences in dialect, the same language. They worshipped the same gods and held joint religious festivals in their honor. Such were the famous Olympic games in which the best athletes of all the city states of Greece competed and which have been imitated in the twentieth century in the hope of promoting international good will.

The government of the city states underwent various changes during the seven or eight hundred years of Grecian history. Originally they were ruled by kings, and then by small groups of nobles called oligarchies. These oligarchies, one after another, became oppressive and the inhabitants of the city states gave willing support to a leader who would overthrow the oligarchy and establish what the Greeks called a tyranny. To the Greeks the word tyranny did not mean an oppressive, harsh rule as it does today, but rather meant a government by a single man who had usurped the power and ruled the city. Frequently the tyrants of the city states were wise and beneficent rulers, but in time they, too, became cruel and unjust and were overthrown. Democracies were established in their place.

In these democratic city states all the citizens had the right to vote on all questions and to choose their leaders. All citizens took part in the government and were expected to hold office. Here then we can note the beginnings of that demo-

cratic ideal of government which has spread so rapidly throughout the world in the last few centuries. But the Greeks did not have the idea of a universal participation in the government by all the people. The democracy of the city states only extended to citizens, and only those were citizens who were born of citizens. There is another important difference between the democracy of the city state and modern democracy. In the ancient city state the small number of citizens made it possible for them to come to the market place, discuss the laws and vote directly upon them. The city state is what is called a pure democracy, somewhat like the old New England town meeting. Today nations are so large, distances to be travelled so great, that it would be impossible to have all the citizens meet to discuss and vote upon the laws. And so the people elect delegates or representatives to carry on the work of government in their behalf. To distinguish it from a pure democracy this modern system is referred to as representative democracy.

The Greeks loved liberty and freedom. They were a people without traditions; there were no long established rules of conduct; no firmly intrenched modes of action. As Lord Bacon reminds us, they had "no antiquity of knowledge and no knowledge of antiquity," and Plato expresses the same idea, "there is no old opinion handed down among you by ancient tradition nor any science which is hoary with age." Consequently the Greeks were free to venture forth in new directions and to discover new truths. They gave expression to their love of beauty and their passions in new forms of architecture, exquisite sculpture, and literature, that have won the admiration of the world. It is this intellectual heritage of the Greeks that it is important for us to appreciate, for the ideas of the Greeks on matters of government, politics and philosophy, art and literature, dominated the thought of the Middle Ages and are still current. Our modern thought is not much in advance of the Greeks. Our knowledge of nature and science and the practical application of that knowledge is greater, but our philosophic ideas, our social ideas and

even some of our economic ideas, our art and architecture, are mere copies or replicas of the thought and art of these people of twenty-five centuries ago. Unlike them, and indeed largely because of them, we have a science of thought and a philosophy that is hoary with age. (See J. H. Robinson, *Mind in the Making*.)

The Greeks excelled in the various forms of literature; their poems, their histories, their biographies, their dramatic writings, have always been regarded as models. The language of the Greeks was a delicate and fine instrument; it was possible to convey the exact and precise meaning of the author; hence directness, clearness, beauty and simplicity are characteristic of all Greek writing. In the Iliad and Odyssey, which are usually attributed to the blind poet, Homer, but which are probably the combined work of several poets, we have one of the finest examples of epic poetry. Pindar, Sappho, and others excelled in the writing of lyric poetry. The writing of history finds its beginning among the Greeks. Herodotus, who wrote the story of the Persian wars, is often referred to as the Father of History. Herodotus traveled widely and included all the various stories that he heard without troubling to verify them. Consequently his history is filled with inaccuracies, but none the less critics consider it one of the most fascinating books ever written. A young man, Thucydides, wrote the history of the war between Athens and Sparta. He approached his task in a spirit far different from that of Herodotus, taking pains to be sure that his statements were correct, and consequently his spirit is more in accord with that of the modern scientific historian who carefully weighs and examines his materials. These men lived and wrote in the fifth century B. C., and from that time there are numerous Greek histories and biographies that give us first hand knowledge of their life and customs. Consequently we know much more about the Greeks and Romans than about the peoples who preceded them.

Another form of literary expression originated by the Greeks is the drama. The theater grew out of the religious

ceremonies and festivals of which the Greeks were very fond. Religion was to them a kind of state affair and many days were set apart throughout the year when all the citizens gathered together and sang hymns and shouted paeans of joy to their favorite god. There was usually a leader of this citizen chorus and finally Thespis (hence our word Thespian, meaning an actor) conceived the idea of having someone ask a few questions of the chorus leader which he answered. Other writers began to compose dialogues to be spoken and acted at these religious festivals, a third and a fourth and a fifth speaker were introduced and the chorus lost its position of importance. Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, are considered the best of the Greek writers of tragedy, and Aristophanes the best of their writers of comedy.

A most important part of Grecian literature was devoted to philosophy and in this field they have influenced the thought of all time. Various schools of philosophic thought were established among the Greeks which it is impossible to go into here. But there are a few names and a few achievements in Greek philosophy of such profound importance that we cannot pass them by.

One of the earliest and most picturesque of the Greek philosophers was Socrates, who wrote no books, gave no formal lectures, but walked about the streets of Athens, talking with those he met. It was his delight to question people as to the meaning of common words like justice and injustice, good and bad. Why were certain actions good, others unjust? If we try to analyze these questions it is probable that we will find our notions of these terms vague and indefinite. It was in an effort to stimulate sound thinking and logical conclusions that Socrates prodded the minds of his listeners. His motto was, "Know thyself." It is unfortunate that we know so little of what must have been the intensely interesting life of this first powerful critic of the established order of things. We know that he was ungainly of figure, homely of feature, "with bulging eyes, flat nose and thick lips." Probably because he was pestered at home by a fault-finding wife, the

infamous Xantippe, whose name has become synonymous with "henpecking," that he strolled about the streets of Athens, gathering about him a remarkable band of loyal enthusiasts, whom he profoundly inspired by his critical questioning of accepted ideas and institutions. The crowd finally demanded the head of this man "who spoke as he thought," and he was put to death on the charge of robbing the youth of Athens of their belief in the gods by questioning and ridiculing the mythology of Homer. As his disciple Plato comments, "the world is always jealous of novelties in religion."

Socrates' life illustrates two essential characteristics of Greek thought—freedom and doubt. It is probably because of these characteristics that the Greek intellect was able to reach the heights it did. The mind was free, untrammeled by the past, searching everywhere for knowledge and truth. And because the mind was free and unfettered it could doubt and question the truth and accuracy of the common beliefs. This attitude of doubt and questioning, leading as it does to investigation and experimentation, was an indispensable instrument of progress.

Our knowledge of Socrates comes to us through his equally famous pupil, Plato, who wrote a series of dialogues in which he presents his own views as well as those of Socrates. Plato typifies the idealism of Greek life. To him the most important things are ideas, not the objects represented by them. In his *Republic* he presents his views of an ideal commonwealth, and in his *Laws*, his concept of an ideal legal system. He founded a school or college, known as the Academy, where he spent his long life lecturing and writing.

Aristotle, a pupil of Plato and the tutor of Alexander the Great, has probably exercised a more profound influence on the intellectual thought of the world than any man, ancient or modern. The conquering Alexander put vast sums at his disposal and sent him specimens of plants and animals from all over his vast empire. He wrote books on almost every conceivable subject. He wrote a treatise on zoology and botany; he collected the laws and constitutions of the Greek

states and wrote a book on politics; he wrote essays on the laws of rhetoric and poetry; he wrote a treatise on ethics; he examined the science of reasoning and wrote a book on logic which, in the opinion of some, is his greatest achievement. Aristotle was a cautious investigator, searching for facts and unwilling to accept previous ideas. He was aided in his labors by a large body of students. In the schools established by Alexander in Egypt and elsewhere, his works became the standard text-books and a goodly number of subsequent philosophers were content simply to comment upon his works. We shall see that in the Middle Ages his philosophy was accepted by the thinkers of the age and moulded by the theologians of the period into a philosophic system called Scholasticism. Indeed, it is only in the last few hundred years that some of his conclusions have been questioned, while many of them still remain unchallenged.

The Greeks made vast strides in the natural sciences. Thales predicted an eclipse; Euclid worked out the principles of geometry and his text-book was universally used until a few generations ago; Hipparchus made an effort to count and arrange the stars and worked out the idea of fixing positions on the earth by reference to longitude and latitude; Hippocrates in medicine did much to destroy old superstition about disease; the Alexandrian Medical School was equipped with dissecting rooms for studying anatomy; Archimedes worked out the principle of the lever and pulley; Pythagoras and Aristotle taught that the earth was round, not flat; Eratosthenes measured the circumference of the earth and came within a few thousand miles of its actual size. The genius of the Greeks discovered practically all that the unaided brain of man probably could discover, but because they lacked the lens, the microscope, the telescope, the barometer, and an accurate time-piece, they were limited in their power to acquire scientific knowledge. The world had to await the coming of these and similar instruments of scientific research before it could make the vast strides that have been taken in the last three hundred years.

The Greek sense of beauty is unrivalled and finds its highest expression in sculpture, architecture and painting. The paintings of the Greeks have been lost to posterity, but much of their architecture and sculpture is still preserved in the ruins of the Acropolis and elsewhere. Greek art is original and is characterized by clearness, simplicity, and symmetry. The Greeks believed in moderation in all things; consequently their temples and statues are always built in proper proportion, nor are they ruined by over-ornamentation. The Grecian temple was never large like the Roman or Oriental because it was not intended to be used as a place of public worship, but to house the statue of the god or goddess in whose honor it was erected. The most noted architect is Phidias, designer and builder of the famous Parthenon, the most beautiful building, many believe, ever fashioned by the hand of man. Phidias was a famous sculptor as well as architect and constructed the statue of Pallas Athene that was placed in the center of the Parthenon, as well as several of its smaller statues. Ancient writers on art praise highly the sculpture of Praxiteles, but the world now possesses only one original statue of his, the Hermes; others of his statues still exist in copies. For sheer beauty the work of the Grecian sculptors has never been surpassed.

Our debt to the Greeks is a heavy one; so great and far reaching indeed that it is difficult to comprehend it. They were the leaders and teachers of the world. They have given the world high ideals in politics, in literature, in science, in philosophy, in art,—in politics, the ideal of democracy; in literature the ideal of beautiful, accurate and clear expression; in philosophy, the ideal of intellectual freedom—the questioning spirit and the search for the truth; in science, the ideal of sound reasoning and patient investigation; in art, the ideal of beauty, simplicity, symmetry and moderation.

The Greek genius, however, lacked one important quality. It was so enamoured of beauty and thought, that it was not practical and lacked the power of organization and co-operation. These practical qualities were possessed in an extraordi-

narily high degree by a city state situated on the banks of the Tiber on the west side of Italy, Rome, to a study of whose civilization we now turn.

IMPORTANT DATES IN GREEK HISTORY

("c" before a date means the date is uncertain or approximate.)

B. C.
c 1194 Trojan War.
c 750-600 Age of colonization.
c 650-500 Age of tyrants.
621 Draco codifies Athenian laws
594 Reforms of Solon.
546 Persians conquer Greek cities in Asia.
490 First Persian invasion of Greece—battle of Marathon.
480 Second Persian invasion of Greece—battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis.
477 Delian Confederacy formed.
460-430 Age of Pericles—Golden Age of Greek art and literature.
431-404 Peloponnesian War, Athens vs. Sparta.
399 Execution of Socrates.
427-347 Plato.
384-322 Aristotle.
371-362 Theban supremacy.
338 Philip of Macedon conquers Greece.
334 Alexander invades Asia.
323 Death of Alexander.
c 300-100 Hellenistic Age—Alexandria (Egypt center of learning).
146 Rome completes conquest of Greece, Corinth destroyed.

ROME

Rome was a warlike city state, founded, according to the legends, in 753 B. C. In struggling for the right to exist she defeated her neighboring cities, made them subject to her, and finally became mistress of all Italy. Next she came into conflict with her African rival, Carthage, a colony established by the Phoenicians. After a century of warfare, Rome subdued not only Carthage but also northern Africa, Sicily and Spain, and became mistress of the western Mediterranean. She then looked toward the east for new worlds to conquer; Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt came under her control. She sent her generals to Gaul, to Britain, to Mesopotamia, to

Africa, until finally her empire stretched from Ireland to the Persian Gulf, from the Danube to the Sahara desert. All that was important of the known world came under her jurisdiction.

To comprehend Rome we need words conveying bigness. Rome was big, colossal, vast, immense, grand. Everything the Romans did, they did in a big way. Her cities, her buildings, her walls, her roads, her aqueducts, her bridges were big, durable, grand, superb. Rome was practical. When she needed a wall to protect her cities, she built one that would stand the sieges of her enemies. When she needed an army, she organized, trained and equipped the best soldiery of the ancient world. When she needed ships to fight against the sea-faring Carthaginians, whose trade she envied, she built them and ruled the seas. When she needed aqueducts to bring water to her cities, she built them to last for centuries. When she needed roads to transport her armies with despatch to distant ends of her empire, she built them to endure, in some places, to the present day. When she needed a government to manage the vast empire over which she ruled, she organized one that was the ideal of rulers for centuries. To the Roman, Rome was to last forever—it was eternal Rome. Even today, fifteen centuries since her greatness has faded, the world is enthralled by the grandeur of eternal Rome.

The legends of Rome, the City of Seven Hills, tell us that it was founded by Romulus and Remus and had seven kings. During this period there began a long conflict, which, indeed, lasted throughout her history, for supremacy between the privileged nobles, the patrician class, and the hard working plebians. About 500 B. C. Rome became a republic with an elaborate system of government by Consuls, Senate, and Assemblies. Of these three, the Senate remained by far the most powerful. As Rome extended her domain, she imitated the Persian system and divided her empire into provinces, placing over them powerful generals who, filled with a lust for power and wealth, often revolted against the government. As her wealth and trade increased and her population grew, serious

internal disturbances arose. The farmers were discontented, the people of the provinces were overburdened with taxes by their corrupt and dishonest officials. Ambitious men held out promises of relief and reform. The people supported one against the other and finally after a century of confusion and civil strife, Julius Caesar established an absolute dictatorship. He never took the title of emperor, although, in fact, he was such. This step was taken by his nephew and adopted son, Octavius Augustus, a few years before the beginning of the Christian Era. It was during the period of the empire, in the first and second centuries of the Christian Era, that she rounded out her boundaries, established a Pax Romana, and enjoyed the heyday of her luxuriant power.

The legacy of Rome is second in importance only to that of Greece; some might consider it even more important. Her great achievement was her law and governmental organization. Because her period of growth and strength was so long and because her laws reached to every nook of the empire, this influence has been wide and far reaching. Her laws have been preserved to us in many codes—the most famous being that of Justinian in the sixth century A. D. They were taken over by the invading German tribes and became the basis of the legal systems of the modern nations that were formed within the boundaries of her empire.

Rome's imperial system has also left a deep imprint upon the human mind. The idea of a vast empire embracing many peoples and nations has endured. It has led ambitious rulers and their nations to ruin. Charlemagne in the ninth century called himself Emperor of Rome, and in the eleventh century Otto the Great established the Holy Roman Empire which continued until its overthrow by Napoleon, a little more than a hundred years ago.

The Roman language and literature has permeated and influenced all subsequent literature. Wherever the Roman armies went they carried Roman civilization and consequently throughout the empire Rome's literature was as familiar as her soldiers and her laws. During the Middle Ages when the

church, founded in the days of the empire, the official language of which was Latin, controlled the thought and minds of men, Latin literature was everywhere read and studied by the educated. Latin is the basis of the modern languages of Spain, Italy, France, Portugal and Roumania. The English language is rich with Latin words. The Catholic church still uses Latin as her language. It is still taught in the high schools and colleges, and until quite recently a knowledge of Latin and Greek was considered essential in the development of an educated person. Indeed it is only in the last few hundred years that books have been published in the mother tongues of their authors. Latin literature, however, never attained the heights reached by the Greeks. Indeed, most of Rome's culture was copied from the Greeks. Rome's literature embraced all the various forms. In epic poetry Rome had Virgil; in lyric poetry she had Horace; in history, Livy and Tacitus; in oratory, Cicero; in drama, Plautus and Seneca, to mention but a few of the more brilliant names.

As in literature, so also in architecture, Rome never achieved the beauty, simplicity and originality of the Greeks. Her buildings were imitations of Grecian art, but on a larger and grander scale. Rome introduced the rounded arch, and the large vaulted ceilings it made possible are characteristic of the immense power and splendor of Rome. This use of the arch is Rome's contribution to architecture. The Romans liked big and beautiful buildings. Temples, basilicas, tombs, baths, triumphal arches, bridges, aqueducts, were always in process of construction. Nor were they confined to the Eternal City. Every city in the empire, whether in Egypt, in Asia Minor, in Gaul, in Spain or in Africa was, in a sense, a replica of Rome. It is because of this all-pervading spirit of her institutions that Rome's influence has been so deep and enduring.

There has been much speculation and many theories as to the causes for the "fall of Rome." Why should the great empire, controlling almost the entire known world, producing great wealth, bound together by a common language and law

as well as by commerce, possessing a larger and better equipped army than had ever before been known, administered by the most elaborate system of government, why should this empire disintegrate and finally collapse? Doubtless one of the main causes was economic.

In the early days of the republic the majority of Roman citizens were farmers, owning and working their own small farms. These hard working and thrifty farmers made up the Roman armies and formed the backbone of the Roman state. Since, however, they did not have artificial fertilizers nor practice rotation of crops with domesticated grass seed to restore the fertility of the soil, with years of cultivation the land gradually became exhausted. The population was growing and Rome was forced to look first to Sicily and then to Spain and Africa to replenish her food supply. It was this search for food that brought Rome into conflict with Carthage. The virgin soil of the conquered provinces was worked mainly by slave labor, the conquered peoples being turned into slaves, and the cheap grain thus produced undersold the grain raised on the exhausted soil of Italy. The Roman farmers, unable to make a living, abandoned their farms and crowded into Rome. Small farms were combined into great estates devoted mainly to grazing and worked by slave labor.

In Rome the dispossessed farmers formed a mob of unemployed which the various politicians, striving for power in the closing days of the republic, used to further their own selfish ends. The government bought the cheap grain from the provinces and distributed it free. Rival leaders further strengthened their political machines by providing great spectacles, chariot races and gladiatorial combats, battles to death in which armed men fought with each other or with wild beasts, for the free entertainment of the citizens.

Of course there were critics of the existing conditions and radicals who sought for a solution of the evils that beset Rome. Noteworthy among the reformers were the Gracchi brothers, two young men of noble birth, wealth and education who turned against their own class and threw in their lot

with the poverty stricken rabble. Tiberius Gracchus, elected to high office in 133 B. C., proposed what amounted to virtual confiscation of the large estates of his fellow nobles. His solution of the agrarian problem was to divide the public lands into small parcels and distribute them among the citizens. Ancient laws limiting the amount of public land to be leased to any one citizen had been flagrantly disregarded and needless to say his proposal to re-establish the old laws and confiscate the illegal holdings of the wealthy nobles provoked a storm of opposition. He was defeated in the Senate and appealed directly to the people. With them he was successful; but the nobles had him killed in the tumultuous riots that occurred at election time.

Ten years later his younger brother, Gaius, endowed with greater vision and powers of leadership, took up the task. He sponsored a whole series of reforms,—some directed to the overthrow of the power of the aristocratic senate, others to the renewal of his brother's agrarian program, still others to the extension of the Roman franchise to the peoples of Italy. But he too had to contend with the opposition of those whose privileges he was seeking to destroy in the interests of the masses. He met the same fate as his brother.

Like many modern bourgeois reformers the hearts of the Gracchi were sounder than their economics. Their proposal to send the people, many of whom had left their farms because they could not make a living on them, back to the land would have done little if anything to solve the problem of the exhaustion of the soil which was the root of the trouble. Like modern reformers, too, they had a naive faith in the efficacy of laws to solve far-reaching social and economic questions. This, however, in no way lessens the respect due them for their courage in disregarding the sneers of their own class and the charge of being demagogues and giving their lives for what they believed to be right.

Fifty years after the Gracchi there arose another champion of the outcasts of Roman society of an entirely different sort. Gladiatorial shows having become a favorite form of amuse-

ment, training schools for gladiators had been established in different parts of Italy. In one of these schools Spartacus, a slave, stirred up his companions to revolt. Fleeing to the crater of Vesuvius they were joined by other runaway slaves, vagabonds and desperate men until they numbered more than 150,000. For three years they controlled most of southern Italy, cutting to pieces four Roman armies that were sent against them. Finally Spartacus was killed and the revolt collapsed. A terrible vengeance was taken on his followers, thousands of them being nailed on crosses along the streets of Rome. The fact that such a multitude were ready to join this desperate venture tells much of conditions in Italy. We know nothing of the previous history of Spartacus, but the courage and the genius of the man who could organize the dregs of society into a force which could defy the legions of imperial Rome for years needs no further commentary.

After a time, the soil of the provinces in turn became less fertile. Slave labor was not efficient enough to produce crops sufficient to maintain the population. Landlords found taxes more and more burdensome. The government found it more and more difficult to get funds to feed the idle people and maintain its extravagant expenditures. Laws were passed prohibiting peasants from leaving the land, binding them to the soil, so that the crowds of unemployed in the cities might not be increased. Crowds of hungry people unable to get food in the cities went back to the land and voluntarily became serfs. Many landlords, unable to produce enough even to maintain their slaves, made them serfs, thus avoiding the responsibility for feeding them. In this way serfdom, the labor system that prevailed throughout the Middle Ages, developed. Serfdom differed from slavery in that the slave was a chattel like a horse or cow and might be bought and sold at will, while the serf might be sold only with the land. The serf could not leave the land, nor could his children. All of the fruits of the slave's labor belonged to the master and the master provided him with food and shelter. Part of the time the serf worked for himself, but out of what he produced he

had to support himself and his family. This economic situation led to another which also helped bring on disaster—the progressive deterioration of the ruling class.

While the great mass of the population was living in poverty the wealthy class was living in most extravagant luxury. The conquests of Rome produced vast wealth both for the government and for a small class who controlled the government and held most of the official positions. Millions were spent on elaborate entertainments. The corners of the empire were ransacked for exotic foods and new forms of amusement. Dissipation, debauchery and disease sapped the strength, physical and moral, of Rome's ruling class. The old Roman patriotism died out; positions were sought for what could be made out of them; much of the money wasted in extravagant living was graft stolen from the public treasury. Graft and corruption ruled in the army and rival groups of politicians fought for control of it so that they might put their minions on the emperor's throne by force. In the ninety-two years from 193 to 284 A. D., twenty-seven different emperors ruled, all but four of whom were killed in office. Roman society was rotten both at the bottom and at the top. Even the strongest empire in the world could not long endure under these conditions.

The immediate reason for the overthrow of the empire was the coming of the barbarians, the Germanic tribes who pushed into the empire from the north and east. This coming of the barbarians is often referred to as an invasion. It was not an invasion in the usual sense of the word—rather a mass migration. For centuries these people had been coming into the borders of the empire. At first they were welcomed, they were made citizens, enrolled in the army, and given important positions in the government. They were assimilated and became Roman for all practical purposes. As time went on the numbers of the newcomers increased. At last Rome realized her peril and tried to keep them out, but it was too late. In the fourth and fifth centuries they came in such numbers that they could no longer be assimilated, but engulfed and almost ex-

tinguished Roman civilization. Finally, in 476 A. D., a German chieftain, Odoacer by name, pushed the last Roman emperor, whose name curiously enough happened to be Romulus Augustullus, from the throne. This is the traditional date for the fall of Rome, but we would not be reading history correctly if we took this to mean that Rome collapsed in that year. Rome's decline was slow and gradual; it had been in process for centuries, and even after 476 Roman influence remained dominant for a long period. The year 476 is merely a convenient stopping place for ancient history.

The capture of Rome by Odoacer did not extinguish the title of Roman emperor, for the empire had been divided for nearly a century. In 330, Constantine had built a second capital, Constantinople, on the site of Byzantium. In 395 Theodosius left the empire to his two sons, one to rule in the east and the other in the west. In theory it was still one empire ruled conjointly, but in practice the two parts were never reunited. After the fall of Rome, the eastern emperors secure in Constantinople, still claimed to be ruler of the whole empire, and in the sixth century the powerful Justinian did reconquer Italy only to be driven out soon after by the Lombards. Throughout the Middle Ages Constantinople was the largest and wealthiest city of Europe, preserving learning and art when they were almost extinct in the west. The Eastern, or Byzantine Empire, became more and more Greek and oriental in civilization, and although its territory dwindled, it stood as a buffer for Europe against attacks from the east until its capture by the Turks in 1453.

IMPORTANT DATES IN ROMAN HISTORY

B. C.	
753	Legendary founding of Rome.
509	Republic established.
367	Plebians receive full privileges of citizenship.
272	Rome becomes mistress of Italy.
264-201	Wars with Carthage.
190	Conquest of Asia Minor.
168	Conquest of Macedonia.
146	Conquest of Greece. Destruction of Carthage

134-124 Reforms of Gracchi.
73-71 Revolt of Spartacus.
60 First Triumvirate—Caesar, Crassus, Pompey.
58-51 Caesar's conquest of Gaul.
48 Caesar gains supreme power.
44 Death of Caesar.
43 Death of Cicero.
27 Augustus establishes Empire.
27 B. C.-14 A. D. Reign of Augustus, Golden Age of Roman Literature—Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Livy.

A. D.
117 Empire reaches greatest extent under Trajan.
161-180 Marcus Aurelius, the Philosopher Emperor.
313 Constantine grants toleration to Christians.
328 Constantine founds Constantinople.
378 Goths defeat Roman armies at Adrianople.
395 Death of Theodosius, last emperor to rule both East and West.
410 Goths under Alaric sack Rome.
476 End of Western Roman Empire.

THE FUSION OF ROMAN AND TEUTON

The Germanic invasions of the early centuries of the Christian Era were caused primarily by land hunger. The tribes on the fringe of the Roman Empire and beyond were still nomads. Since nomads depend for their food on cattle which feed on wild grasses, it is obvious that population is limited by the amount of grass land available. Just as bees, when they become too crowded in the hive "swarm," so these nomadic peoples, when population increases or food becomes scarce, "swarm." Such a swarming took place in the closing days of the Roman Empire. One tribe pushed another forward until they were forced into the empire, settling in various parts, in Spain, in Africa, in Gaul, in England. We must not think that these migrations of the peoples of Europe took place within a century or two. They were spread over hundreds of years. The early invaders came into Rome in the third century. The Angles and Saxons invaded England in the fifth and the Danes in the eighth century. The Franks entered Gaul in the fifth century; Slavic tribes were pushing into the east in the fifth century. The Norsemen harassed

the western coast of Europe, Italy and England in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. From the third to the eleventh centuries there was a great coming and going, a great roving hither and thither of the peoples and tribes of Europe in their unending search for food. There was intermarriage, absorption and extinction of various peoples, and so Europe today and particularly Europe east of the Rhine and Danube in the Balkan peninsula is a confusing mixture of various tongues and races. This, needless to say, partly helps to account for the many states of Europe, and the difficulty involved if an attempt is made to draw the boundary lines of states according to racial differences.

One of the tribes of invaders, later called Northmen because they settled in the north in the Scandinavian peninsula and Denmark, became great sailors and sea rovers—Vikings. These bold sailors, pirates we would call them today, later scattered throughout Europe and probably have had a greater influence than any other tribe. In the ninth century they plundered the coast of France, made settlements there, and finally established the Duchy of Normandy. The same procedure was followed in Sicily and southern Italy, where they established well-organized governments. They became deep-sea sailors and sailed to Iceland, to Greenland, and to a place their Sagas called Vineland, which was in all probability Newfoundland or New England. (They thus discovered the American continent some five hundred years before Columbus but did not leave any permanent settlements.) They travelled eastward across the vast steppes of Russia, reached Constantinople overland and established principalities at Kiev and Novgorod. While the Northmen came as plundering raiders, whenever they settled down they showed remarkable capacity for law and governmental organization — witness the kingdom of Sicily and the Duchy of Normandy.

Within the boundaries of the old Roman Empire the fusion of the Germanic and Roman elements was comparatively quick and easy and productive of some important results. The barbarians did not come in large numbers, nor rapidly.

They intermarried with the Romans, accepted positions in the Roman army and government and adopted its language. It should be noted that in the closing years of the empire the Latin spoken by the common people, few of whom could read, was far different from the classical Latin used by the writers. The coming of the barbarians merely hastened a process already going on. They added a few of their words to the conversational Latin and since the language was not written for centuries it diverged still farther, each district developing its own dialect. In time the various dialects developed into the Romance languages — Italian, Spanish, French and Portuguese. A large number of barbarians had already been converted to Christianity by missionaries from the east. Those who were still pagans were soon converted by the zealous missionaries sent among them by the Christians of the west. The Roman buildings, aqueducts, roads and bridges, were everywhere, embodying Rome's spirit and culture, and these the barbarians could not escape. Consequently we find the settlers of Italy, Spain, France and Portugal developing a Latin tongue, we find them accepting the Roman legal system, we find their kings endeavoring to imitate the Roman government.

Elsewhere, beyond the borders of the old Roman empire, the Germanic tribes and others living remote from the old Roman influence developed their own language, their own legal codes and governmental systems. So we find the Danes, the English, the Germans, the Norwegians, the Slavs, differing in many respects from their neighbors of the south. The one important source of contact through which they subsequently imbibed in some degree the Roman spirit and culture was their membership in the universal Christian church, which is the chief instrument through which we inherit the traditions of the ancient world.

It is useless to attempt to give any connected account of the many tribal groups that came crowding into the Roman Empire from the third century onward. Many of them established kingdoms here and there; many such kingdoms were

overthrown by succeeding tribes and disappeared. One example will suffice. The kingdom established by Odoacer in Rome in 476 was short-lived. He was expelled by the Ostrogoths who, in turn, were driven out of Italy by the eastern emperor, Justinian. But the succeeding emperors were weak and a fresh invasion of Italy by the Lombards lessened their control, the eastern empire being able to retain only a few scattered districts in the entire peninsula; the Lombards were in turn conquered by the Franks. The history of the other parts of Europe is similar. One tribe after another gains the ascendency but no government lasts long.

Before the west became thoroughly feudal in its system of government and land holding, there was one strong effort, temporarily successful, to reunite Europe into a vast empire. The statesman and warrior who succeeded in this task was Charlemagne, who became king of the Franks in 771.

The Franks first settled in the region that is now Belgium and from there carried on their conquests until by the close of the sixth century they controlled the territory that is modern France and eastern Germany. Clovis, their first great king, embraced Christianity, thus winning for himself and successors the help of the bishop of Rome, which was to prove of great value. The Frankish kings of the seventh century were weak and came to be called do-nothing kings, dependent upon the Mayor of the Palace, a sort of prime minister who looked after the king's affairs, conducted his wars, and ultimately usurped his power and took the kingly title for himself. One of these, Charles Martel, was king in all but name. He it was who won the nick-name of Charles the Hammer and the gratitude of the Papacy for stopping the Mohammedan invasion of the west at the battle of Tours in 732 A. D. The office of the Mayor of the Palace together with the power and prestige that now attached to it, Martel passed on to his son, Pippin the Short. Pippin took the step that his father hesitated to take. He set aside the last of the Merovingians, as the Frankish kings were called, and became king of the Franks. The Pope journeyed to Pippin's court,

crowned Pippin, and anointed him with oil. Pippin was king, not only because of his strength and sword, but "by the grace of God." There was thus introduced into the idea of kingship a new element, akin to the oriental idea of the god-emperor, which later won for kings a respect and obedience that neither their strength, character, nor sword could win for them.

The Pope had good reason to approve of Pippin's usurpation of the throne, because he was at that time bothered with the Lombard invasion of Italy and wished his help. The grateful Pippin marched to Italy, defeated the Lombards and forced them to give to the Pope the central part of Italy. This is called "the donation of Pippin." The Popes had already acquired possession of some land in Italy, and this donation of Pippin, together with grants of land by succeeding kings constitute what came to be called the States of the Church. The Pope became the temporal ruler of these lands; he was king of central Italy as well as head of the Christian church. This papal kingdom, the States of the Church, endured until 1870, when it was absorbed by the kingdom of Italy, then in process of formation.

CHARLEMAGNE

Pippin followed the Germanic custom and divided his kingdom between his two sons; but one of them died within three years and the survivor, Charles, known as Charlemagne or Charles the Great, became sole ruler in 771. Charlemagne inherited from his father complete control over the Franks and the warm friendship of the Popes. It was his task to retain that control, extend it, and cement the alliance between Pope and king. He was a prodigiously active man. Throughout his long reign of more than forty years he was almost constantly at war. He fought against the Lombards in Italy, defeated them, and placed the iron crown of the Lombard kings upon his own head. He ratified the donation of Pippin and throughout his reign had the ready assistance of the Popes. He fought against the Saracens in Spain and extended the boundaries of his domain to the river Ebro; he

defeated the Avars on the east, conquered Bavaria, added Aquitania to his kingdom, waged wars against the Northmen and the Slavs, and, probably the greatest of his military achievements, conquered the warlike Saxons after numerous campaigns. The conquest of Bavaria and Saxony is important because it brought within the confines of his empire most of the Germanic peoples east of the Rhine. All the people whom he conquered were forced to accept Christianity at the point of the sword.

In the administration of this vast empire he gave evidence of sound statesmanship. He organized his empire into districts and over them he placed counts (comites). The districts on the border of the empire which marked its boundary were called marks or marches (e. g. the Spanish mark) and the counts in charge of them were called margraves or marquises. To prevent the counts from forgetting their allegiance to him he despatched two messengers (*missi dominici*) to visit each of the various parts of his kingdom, settle disputes and make reports to him. Twice each year in the spring and autumn he held assemblies of his counts and margraves. To these assemblies he made known the royal will in laws or decrees (called capitularies) which the nobles were to carry out in their respective territories.

Charlemagne was himself interested in learning and culture. It is reported that on his campaigns he made an effort to learn Greek and Latin, and could speak Latin fairly well, although he never learned how to write. He issued orders that the clergy should be educated, that they themselves should understand the language of the church and the meaning of literature that they were engaged in copying. He ordered the monasteries to establish schools for the education of the children of the neighborhood. He set an example himself by organizing the "school of the palace," in which the children of the nobles were educated and to which he brought the most learned men of the times, particularly the famous English monk, Alcuin. He collected the Germanic legends, now unfortunately lost, and the laws of the Germanic tribes.

He ordered the clergy to make translations of parts of the Bible and to teach the people the prayers in their own tongue as well as in Latin. But his great interest was in the Latin language, probably because it was the language of the church, and his insistence upon its accurate use did much to prevent its corruption and make it the language of the learned for the next six hundred years.

On Christmas day, in the year 800, there occurred one of the most important events in the life of Charlemagne, and, indeed, in the history of the Middle Ages. He went to Rome to settle a dispute between the Pope and his enemies, and while kneeling at prayer in St. Peter's, the Pope placed a crown upon his head and the crowd hailed him as "Augustus, crowned by God, the Emperor of the Romans." It was believed that in this way the western Roman Empire, founded by Augustus eight hundred years before, was re-established. Needless to say that from our vantage point of eleven hundred years' retrospect we can see that the empire thus established was not in reality the old Roman Empire. It did not embrace the same territory. The people, the language and institutions were different; the eastern Roman Emperor still continued to rule at Constantinople. But the legend of a Roman Empire thus launched endured for a thousand years.

Charlemagne is the greatest figure in the history of the Middle Ages. He was the only ruler who was able to bring and keep under his single control western and central Europe. In rough outline, he ruled over what is now France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, northern Italy and parts of Austria. He checked the slow process of disintegration, but only for a while, for the empire he established crumbled into pieces shortly after his death. His influence is chiefly traceable in the impetus he gave to learning and education, in his welding together of Germanic and Roman influences and in his establishment of the imperial idea.

The empire of Charlemagne did not endure once his overpowering personality was removed. In 840, by the treaty of Verdun, it was divided among his three grandsons into three

sections, a western, a middle and an eastern. The western kingdom came to be modern France, the eastern, after centuries of struggle and confusion, modern Germany. The middle strip was given to Lothaire (Lothairii Regnum, whence Lotharingia and the modern Lorraine). After the death of Lothaire his brothers divided the northern part of his territory between themselves, leaving the part that was to become modern Italy to Lothaire's son. The northern part has been a source of constant strife whose echoes we hear today in Alsace Lorraine.

There were several reasons why Charlemagne's empire could not hold together. It was a heterogeneous mixture of races and peoples, each loving their old tribal freedom. The people wanted peace and protection from the fresh invasions, Saracen, Hungarian, Slav and Northmen, and they naturally turned to local chieftains and forgot about allegiance to a distant emperor they seldom saw. His successors were weak. Roads were poor and travel difficult. The imperial army declined and feudalism triumphed, but throughout the entire feudal period there prevailed the hazy notion of a king or emperor who owned all the land and who had given it to his dukes and lords in return for military services.

SUMMARY

We have reviewed several centuries of man's history; let us look back over the field. The time of man's origin we know not. We estimate it from 75,000 to 500,000 years ago. For our knowledge of primitive man we are dependent upon the record of the rocks. Through the long centuries, just how we can only guess, man learned the use of fire, learned to make tools and clothing, learned to build rude houses, began to domesticate animals and plants. Then between 4000 and 3000 B. C., along the banks of the Nile and in the Tigris and Euphrates valleys, civilization begins. An alphabet, a written language, a literature, buildings, government, law, metal, tools, trade, and industry are all developed. Having carried civilization thus far, the oriental states declined and

eft further progress to be made by the peoples of the west. The first of these, the Hellenes or Greeks, are nearest to the east. Literature, art, philosophy, the drama, the natural sciences and democracy reached a high point of development. Schools, universities and libraries are established. Trade and commerce flourish. They pass on their improvements to the more practical Romans still further to the west, who organize the Mediterranean into a compact government, develop a language and literature and a legal system which spreads their civilization far and wide. Finally this civilization, too, because of internal decay and corruption, gives way to the coming of new peoples. For centuries, broken only by Charlemagne's attempt to revive the empire, progress seems at an end. But gradually the mixture of peoples in western Europe build, by the aid of their legacy from the past, the delicately woven fabric of our modern civilization.

CHAPTER III

Medieval Life

FEUDALISM

As barbarian kings gradually superseded Roman pro-consuls as governors of the territory of Western Europe, government became weaker and weaker. These barbarian kings, although they adopted many of the Roman ideas of law and government, were tribal war lords rather than kings as we use the term. Their powers were few and never extended over all the territory they claimed to rule. With the break up of Charlemagne's empire, the idea of a central authority became even weaker than before. To carry on the most necessary functions of government—the protection of life and property and the settlement of disputes between individuals—feudalism gradually developed.

Feudalism was not put into effect by any law or decree but was the natural outgrowth of various customs and institutions of Roman and German origin. The central idea of feudalism was the fief, a parcel of land the use of which was granted by its holder, the lord, to another, the vassal. On receiving the fief the vassal went through a ceremony called homage, swearing fidelity to the lord and promising to perform certain services for the lord. These services varied greatly, but usually included fighting for the lord in time of war, attending his court to try cases of fellow vassals, advising the lord on questions of policy, and furnishing sums of money on special occasions such as the knighting of the lord's son or the marriage of his daughter. By the tenth century it had become the custom to grant fiefs in perpetuity, the vassal handing it down to his eldest son who, however,

must do homage to the lord when he received it. Fiefs varied in size from the knight's single manor of a few hundred acres from which the income was just sufficient to support him without work, leaving him free to fight, to the vast estates of dukes or barons as large as the Belgium or Denmark of today. The great lords usually regranted a large part of their fiefs to lesser lords who were called the subvassals of the original grantor.

Feudalism grew from both bottom and top at the same time. Kings found it easier to grant large tracts to nobles, requiring them to furnish soldiers to fight for the king, than to raise an army of their own and collect taxes to pay it. Small landowners harassed by greedy neighbors or by barbarians on the borders—Northmen, Magyars, or Turks—with little or no protection from the king, went to a neighboring powerful landlord, gave him title to their land and received it back from him as a fief, thus becoming his vassal and receiving his protection. Every lord—and the holding of sufficient land to enable one to live without menial work made the holder a lord—was the vassal of some other lord and often a lord to other lords. It was not, however, an orderly gradation of subvassals, vassals, and lords up to the king at the head. Due to continuous breaking up and regranting of fiefs, joining of fiefs through marriage and inheritance, and conquest of them in war, there was great confusion. The same person often held several widely separated fiefs and was therefore a vassal to several different lords. He might even be a vassal to one of his fellow vassals. Even kings were often vassals to kings of other countries; for example, the Norman kings of England were vassals of the king of France for the duchies of Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, and Guienne. A further complicating factor was the church, whose vast possessions were tied up in the feudal system, bishops and abbots granting and receiving fiefs, and acting as lords and vassals.

The chief purpose of this complex organization was to furnish soldiers to fight. Each fief had its quota of soldiers

proportionate to its size, from the manor which supported a single knight, to the great duchies furnishing hundreds of equipped men. And fighting was the main occupation and pastime of the nobles of the middle ages. It is true that each lord held a court, which his vassals were required to attend, and in which all disputes between vassals were supposed to be settled. But the lord was often unable to force the vassals to accept the decisions of the court without the use of military force. Vassals were continually revolting, heirs refusing to do homage for their fiefs, ambitious nobles anxious to increase their domains attacking other lords, and war was the only solution. The church tried, with but partial success, to alleviate the evils of continual warfare by establishing the "Truce of God" by which fighting was prohibited from Thursday night to Monday morning each week as well as on holidays. When not actually at war the nobility played at war in jousts and tournaments in which knights singlehanded or in companies displayed their prowess for the entertainment of the ladies.

These incessant wars, however, were not nearly so destructive as modern wars, or indeed civilization would have been completely destroyed. The warriors fought in armor and without gunpowder; relatively few were killed. The fighting was done almost entirely by the nobles themselves, so that those who brought wars about actually did the fighting. The great mass of people had to work to support the fighting men, had their crops destroyed and their cattle killed, but they were not called upon to fight.

The life of the feudal nobility, with its wars and its tournaments, its lovemaking, and its crusades is called chivalry. Most of the nobles were knights. Knighthood was an honor conferred with religious ceremonies by an elder knight when the youth of noble birth was old enough to bear arms—or occasionally conferred upon a man of lowly birth for some especially brave deed. The knight was a Christian soldier for whose conduct an elaborate code of rules had gradually developed. Foremost among the duties of a knight were loyalty to

his lord, faithfulness to his lady, courage, kindness to the weak, and hatred of infidels. In the later days the rules of knighthood dealt largely with polite social usage, especially with the proper conduct toward ladies. Our word "chivalrous" as well as many of our ideas of politeness originated in this period. Most of the non-religious literature of the middle ages, the literature of the French troubadors and the German minnesingers, dealt with the valorous deeds of more or less legendary knights. Although they had little effect on the lives of the great mass of people below the ranks of the nobles, the rules of chivalry did much to humanize the relations of nobles with each other in a rough and cruel age.

With our present-day ideas of law and order, feudalism appears a hopeless tangle. As a system of government it was miserable. But we must remember that the people of that time were people but a few generations removed from barbarism for whom the elaborate system of law and government of the Romans had but little meaning. Under the circumstances feudalism was the best type of government possible. Feudalism preserved some of the Roman heritage; from it developed the great national states of today; in the feudal baron's court was the germ of the modern parliament; back to the idea of loyalty to the lord can be traced our present idea of loyalty to our country—patriotism.

Life in the Country

So far we have told only of the land-holding nobility of the middle ages. The great mass of the people, however, were not land holders but peasant farmers working on the estates of the nobles, making it possible for the nobility to live without labor. The unit of agriculture was not the single farm with its isolated farm house as it is in most farming communities in the United States today but the villa or manor, a small village surrounded by farm land. In the village was the manor house—the house of the lord or of his steward if he had several manors—the village church, the mill, the wine press, the blacksmith's shop, and the houses

of the peasants with sheepfolds and stables. The houses of the peasants were rude thatch-roofed huts without glass windows or chimney flues. The house of the lord varied, according to his wealth, from one differing only in size from those of the peasants to the elaborate stone castle of the powerful baron.

The woodland and pasture around the village were held in common, all the peasants and the lord pasturing their sheep and cattle together and cutting what wood they needed. The cultivated land and meadow or grass land was divided, the lord keeping a good share of it for himself and each peasant having an allotment of which he could not be deprived as long as he fulfilled his obligations, and which he handed down to his children. The peasant's allotment was not in one compact piece but was scattered over several fields, a narrow strip in each field. The reason for this was that the fields evidently were of unequal fertility and since fertilizers or other means of making fields more fertile were not used, it was necessary to give each peasant a strip in each field in order to insure everyone having a holding of equal fertility. Since cultivated grass seed such as clover and timothy was not used and since hay was necessary to keep breeding animals over the winter, the meadow land, where grass grew wild, was similarly divided.

The methods of farming were entirely different from those of today. The variety of crops was small. Potatoes were unknown and carrots, turnips, and other root crops were grown but little. Oats, barley, wheat, and rye, with some beans and peas were the main crops. Of course modern machinery was unheard of and such tools and implements as there were were crude. The modern farmer practices a rotation of crops in order to renew the fertility of his soil. For example, on a field one year he plants corn or potatoes, the next year rye or wheat, and the following year "seeds down" the field with clover or other cultivated grass seed for hay. The grass seeds are perennial, that is their roots last and the crop grows for several years without replanting, and they enrich the soil by

absorbing nitrogen and other elements from the air. Where the same crop is grown year after year, as cotton in the South or potatoes in Maine, an artificial fertilizer is used to enrich the soil. Although Latin writers had explained the use of fertilizers and of cultivated grasses, the knowledge seems to have been lost or at least it was not put to use in the middle ages. After growing a winter crop (one planted in the fall to be harvested the following summer) such as wheat or rye, the medieval farmer grew a spring crop (one planted in the spring to be harvested in the fall) such as oats, peas, or beans, and then the third year let the land lie idle or "fallow" to rest and renew its fertility. This system where there are three sets of fields, one set growing a winter crop, another a spring crop, and the third lying fallow, is called the three field system of agriculture. In some localities the land was left idle every second year and this is called the two field system.

Another and the most striking difference between medieval and modern farming was the status of the farmers. Unlike the farmer of today who either owns his farm or rents it for money or a share of the crop or works for wages, the medieval farmers were serfs. The status of a serf was midway between that of a slave and a free man. A part of the product of the serf's labor belonged to the master; a part of the time he was allowed to work for himself and to accumulate property. The serf was bound to the soil; that is, if the land changed hands he went with it, but he could not be sold off it nor could he leave it of his own accord. When a fief was granted under the feudal system, it was understood that the serfs on the land went with the fief.

Although the relations of the serf to the lord varied at different times and in different localities, in general they may be summed up as follows: (1) A serf was required to work on the lord's land a part of each week, usually at least three days. His wife and daughters were required to do a certain amount of work at the manor house—spinning, weaving, baking, brewing. (2) At certain busy seasons of the year

such as seed time and harvest, he was required to do extra work for the lord known as "boon" work. (3) From the produce of his land he must pay the lord a small portion. (4) He had to use the lord's mill, wine press, blacksmith shop, and oven, and pay well for the privilege. (5) Upon the death of a serf his heir had to pay the lord a sort of inheritance tax in order to succeed to the holding. (6) The serf might not marry without the permission of the lord. We have already described how serfdom originated in the later days of the Roman Empire, due to the exhaustion of the soil, and how it grew, both by slaves being raised and freemen lowered to the status of serfs.

Serfs might buy their freedom if they could save enough from their meager earnings or they might be freed by the lord for some special service. As a result, on the manor, along with serfs, there were often free tenants who had acquired their freedom or who had never been serfs. These free tenants usually paid the lord a part of their product as rent but were not required to work on the lord's land and of course were free to marry whom they pleased or go where they pleased. As trade developed and population increased, the inefficient methods of agriculture with serf labor had to give way to one that would produce more goods. More and more serfs bought their freedom or were emancipated by the lord. Serfdom had died out in parts of France by the end of the thirteenth century and was abandoned completely in England a little later. In parts of Germany and in Russia, however, it lasted until the nineteenth century.

Each manor, especially in the early middle ages, was a little world in itself. On it the lord's will was law, most disputes being settled without outside interference. On it was produced practically everything that the inhabitants ate or wore. For the products not consumed on the manor, there was little or no market, as each manor was surrounded by others producing the same goods. Salt, spices for those who could afford them, and iron to point or edge tools might be secured occasionally from a wandering peddler. Money was

almost unknown—all payments being made in goods. Roads were bad and robbers common. Except for the lord the inhabitants of the manor had practically no connection with the outside world and knew nothing of it. Life for the peasant went on monotonously season after season and year after year, in the same dirty, lonely villages, in the same heatless and windowless huts, with the same black bread and salt meat to eat.

Although the life of the peasant was miserable, he usually had enough to eat, such as it was, warm clothes to wear, and a roof to sleep under. He did not have to worry about grocer's bills, rent increases or business depressions. Nor was his life much more miserable than that of his lord. The lord did not have to work in the fields. He had the best of everything produced on the manor, but it was only the best of rough clothes and coarse food. His house was larger but he had neither bathroom nor heater, nor any of the other conveniences which we look upon today as a matter of course. He might ride in a coach with footmen to attend him and peasants to salute him at every turn. He might relieve the monotony of existence by fighting his neighbors or by occasional trips to his lord's court. But he could neither read nor write; he knew nothing of art, science or literature, nor did he have any of the hundred and one ways of spending his leisure which comparatively humble people enjoy today.

Life in the Towns

Until about the tenth century practically all the inhabitants of Europe lived on the manors and tilled the soil as we have just described. The old Roman towns and cities had dwindled in population, many of them disappearing entirely. Gradually, however, towns began to arise again. The first towns, built with high walls around them, seem to have been mainly for protection. At first the inhabitants tilled the soil around the town and lived much like the neighboring peasants outside the walls, but gradually, a division of labor grew up,—the peasants devoting themselves to agriculture and

the townsmen to manufacture, exchanging their surplus products. With the revival of eastern trade, Italian merchants brought oriental goods to exchange for manufactures; manufactures increased, towns grew, and the townsmen prospered.

The towns were usually small and crowded, houses being packed close together in order to get as many as possible inside the walls. The streets were narrow and winding. Being unpaved and without sewers, they were almost impassable at rainy seasons and at all seasons were filled with pigs, chickens, garbage and refuse. At first the houses were the same thatch-roofed rickety cottages that the rural peasants lived in, but as the townsmen became prosperous they improved their dwellings, making them more durable and roomy, putting in glass windows and chimneys with flues, making them homes rather than mere shelters. The main buildings, aside from the dwellings, were the town hall and church. On these, especially on the churches, no expense was spared, so that many of the wonderful cathedrals of Europe today date from the Middle Ages.

Most of the towns were at first parts of some lord's manor. The inhabitants were serfs who had to pay dues to the lord and settle their disputes in his court. As the towns prospered, these dues and obligations became burdensome. The lord was always in need of money and in return for loans was glad to grant a charter to the town releasing the inhabitants from their dues and allowing them a large measure of control over their own affairs. The eleventh and twelfth centuries, when so many lords wished to raise money to go on the crusades, were periods when many towns received charters. Some towns, unwilling or unable to buy their freedom, revolted and won the right to govern themselves by force of arms. There was great diversity in the types of government developed in the towns, some of them being quite democratic, giving all free men a voice in the government, others being governed by a lord or his representative, others by a sort of aristocracy of leading families, and still others by an association of business men called the merchant guild.

The merchant guild, whether it controlled the government or not, played an important part in the life of nearly all towns. It was an association of all persons in the town who were engaged in trade of any kind, not unlike an all inclusive modern chamber of commerce. It had social and religious as well as business functions. It conducted ceremonies in honor of its patron saint, helped members in distress and organized social gatherings. It was often instrumental in winning rights for the townsmen from the lord. It made arrangements for its members to sell goods in other towns, protected its members on their journeys, and guaranteed their debts and their good conduct. If, for instance, a guild member was caught in some dishonest practice in a foreign town, the guild was held responsible and made restitution. The most important function of the merchant guild was the regulation of trade within the town, which it controlled in its minutest details. No one not a member of the guild was allowed to buy or sell without first securing special permission and paying a tax. Weights and measures were regulated and inspected to see that the standard was adhered to. Cornering the market or buying outside the regular market was forbidden. Prices of standard commodities were fixed and anyone attempting to sell at a different price was severely dealt with.

The merchant guilds were unequal to the task of controlling the greatly increased trade of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and lost most of their functions to the craft guilds. Many of them continued, however, as social organizations. The craft guilds, which developed somewhat later than the merchant guilds and lasted longer, were organizations of the workers in each seperate craft or trade, for example, bakers, brewers, spinners, weavers, goldsmiths.

There were three classes of workmen in the crafts—apprentices, journeymen and master workmen. Apprentices were boys or young men who had been "bound" by their parents to some master workman to learn a trade. The parents surrendered control over the apprenticed boy and the master agreed

to teach the boy the trade and give him board, lodging, and clothes while he was learning. After he had served his apprenticeship, which lasted three years in most trades,—although in some it was much longer—the boy became a journeyman and was allowed to practice his trade, not independently but in the shop of a master workman. As a journeyman he received wages for his services and usually lived in the household of the master for whom he worked. After he had saved enough money to open a shop of his own and had passed an examination given by the guild, which consisted mainly in making to the satisfaction of the guild some product of his trade—called a "masterpiece"—he might become a master workman.

The master workmen controlled the guilds and through the guilds the industry. His shop and salesroom combined was usually in the front part of the house where he lived with his apprentices and journeymen. Although the number of employees to a shop varied, the average was two or three journeymen with as many apprentices. Most of the business was a custom business, that is, goods were made to order, although with the growth of trade with distant places many shops started making goods to be exported from the town. The master workman, as his title indicates, was both a master, supervising the work of his employees, and a workman, doing part of it himself. He also bought the raw materials and sold the finished product.

The whole system of manufacture and distribution of commodities was much simpler than it is today. If one wishes to buy a pair of shoes today, for instance, one goes to a retail shoe store or the shoe department of a large department store. The retail store with its force of clerks, bookkeepers, buyers, and errand boys is only the last cog in the complex system by which shoes are manufactured and sold. The retailer bought the shoes from a wholesaler who in turn bought them from a jobber who bought them from the manufacturer. In the factory the shoe has passed through over one hundred different machines, each operated by a different person. The leather

from which the shoes were made was bought from a leather company, which bought it from a tannery which probably imported the hide from South America. Besides the people who have actually handled the material or the shoes from the time the farmer sells the hide until the customer puts on the shoes, a host of managers, foremen, buyers, salesmen, advertising men, stenographers, and office boys have had a part in the process, to say nothing of the stockholders, scattered over the world, who own the factory or other establishments which have handled them. The medieval townsman who wanted a pair of shoes went to the master workman's shop and had his measure taken. The master or one of his journeymen, assisted by an apprentice, made the shoes from leather he had bought from a neighboring tanner who had bought the hide from a nearby farmer. The master workman was the capitalist, retailer, salesman, manager, foreman, bookkeeper and workman all in one.

The guilds regulated in detail the whole process of manufacture and sale—the quality of materials used, the method of manufacture, the number of apprentices allowed to a master, the training of apprentices, the wages and hours of journeymen, the price at which the product was sold. They protected their own members by fixing a fair price, by limiting the number of apprentices so that the trade would not be overcrowded, and by controlling the number of journeymen who might become masters, thereby limiting competition. At the same time they protected the public by insuring the quality of the goods sold.

The guilds were essentially conservative in nature and not friendly to progress. They believed in doing things in "the good old way." With the invention of machinery and the great expansion of manufacture, their restrictions became too burdensome and they died out. In setting up standards of workmanship and fostering the artisan's pride in his work and his product, they performed a great service, one which our present age of machine-made goods and ruthless competition finds it difficult to replace.

THE CHURCH

Origin of Christianity

We have already noted that there appeared within the Roman Empire a powerful organization which, strangely enough, did not perish with it, but grew stronger until it exercised a wider and more potent influence than the Empire at the time of its greatest glory. This institution, the Christian Church, preserved the traditions, the spirit, the law, the literature of Rome, copied in its internal organization the government of Rome, passed these ideals on to the new nations that were in process of formation, gave to the western world its present religious and moral ideals, and completely dominated the thought and therefore the history of the Middle Ages. Unless we understand and appreciate its power, unless we grasp the meaning of the wide and deep influence it had over the minds of men, we will not be in a positions to understand and appreciate the history of the Middle Ages.

Christianity arose among the Jews,—those people whom we earlier referred to as giving to the world one of its greatest books, the Old Testament, and who, in the midst of idolatrous and pagan peoples, had developed and held to the belief in one God. The Jews were originally nomadic tribes wandering about northern Arabia. After migrating to Egypt they finally settled on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean in the region variously called Judea, Canaan, Israel, Palestine, and, by Christians, the Holy Land. This little section lay directly between Egypt and the Tigris-Euphrates valley, so that the Jews were in almost constant trouble with one or the other of their powerful neighbors. For a time under their kings, the greatest of whom were Saul, David, and Solomon, they were prosperous, but from about 700 B. C. on, their history was a succession of conquests and persecutions at the hands of the peoples to the east. They fell under the control of Assyrians, Chaldeans, Persians and Macedonians in turn and

finally, in 6 A. D., Palestine was annexed to the Roman province of Syria.

All these conquests and periods of exile, instead of quenching the national spirit and the religion of the Jews, made them more nationalistic and more religious. They assimilated the learning and customs of their conquerors but they held to the belief in their god Jehovah, coming to think of Him not merely as a tribal war-god but as the one and only God. They believed that Jehovah had promised Abraham, their first great leader, that they were his chosen people and that in time they would overcome their enemies. Their great prophets, Amos and Isaiah, foretold the coming of a Messiah, a leader sent by God, who would unify them and make them a powerful and prosperous people.

Long before the time of the Romans, the Jews had spread far beyond the borders of Judea. Many had migrated to avoid persecution. Many of the Phoenicians, with whom they had fought and traded for years, had been converted to Judaism and as they travelled and settled throughout the Mediterranean world they took the Jewish religion with them. This scattering of the Jews throughout the civilized world was increased when Judea became a part of the Roman Empire, all the large cities of the Empire having a Jewish colony. The Jews were traders, business men, bankers. Wherever they went they held to their belief that they were the chosen people of the one and only God. Some of the Jews, however, even in Judea, were weakening in the faith; Roman power, Roman culture, Roman luxury fascinated them. Many found it expedient to worship the Roman gods. This distressed the orthodox Jews, the Pharisees, greatly, and they became impatient for the coming of the promised Messiah who would free them from the yoke of Rome and establish a Jewish kingdom that would rule the world.

About the year 29 A. D., when Tiberius was Emperor of Rome, there appeared in Judea a religious teacher who declared that he was the promised Messiah. This teacher was

Jesus of Nazareth, born at Bethlehem during the reign of Rome's first Emperor, Octavius Augustus. His followers believed in him as the promised Redeemer, the Messiah, or as it is expressed in Greek, the Christus. He is therefore called Jesus Christ, the teacher and founder of Christianity.

Since Jesus himself wrote nothing, our knowledge of him is derived chiefly from four accounts left by his disciples, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John; from the letters or epistles that were written by his followers to the various peoples they had converted; from a history of the deeds of his followers, called the Acts of the Apostles; and from the Revelation of the future or the Apocalypse of St. John. These books make up what is commonly called the New Testament, the sacred writings of the Christians, believed by them to have been divinely inspired.

Christ's teachings were simple. He preached no complex creed or dogma and instituted no elaborate ceremonies. The keynote of all his teaching was love. God was the all loving Father of all men, regardless of race or position. All men were brothers bound by love to God and to each other. "Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart and all thy mind and all thy strength, and thy neighbor as thyself." "Love your enemies. Do good to them that hate you." With his conception of a world ruled by universal love it was inconceivable that some should be rich while others were in want or that some should rule harshly over others. Poverty and humility were virtues, therefore, second only to love in importance.

Instead of leading a revolt against Rome, Jesus preached submission to Rome: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Ceasar's and unto God the things that are God's." He realized the futility of attempting to throw off Roman rule by force but had a vision of substituting for the rule of force the rule of love which would recognize neither conquerors nor conquered. This teaching was a bitter disapointment to patriotic Jews, who had looked for a Messiah who would overthrow the hated Romans by force. They refused to believe that this

carpenter who associated with beggars and outcasts and entered Jerusalem riding on an ass was the promised Messiah.

By the magnetism of his personality and the simplicity of his teachings Jesus gained a great following among the humble people of Palestine, but the powerful became his enemies. The Jewish priests had built up an elaborate code of rules according to which one must live in order to gain happiness in the after life. Salvation, with many of them, came to be largely a matter of doing things according to rule. Jesus swept away these rules declaring that obedience to the commandments and love for God and fellow men were all that was necessary for salvation. His assertion that salvation was for all, Gentile as well as Jew, who would accept and follow his teachings, was displeasing to those who flattered themselves that the Jews alone were God's chosen people. His scorn for riches and his teachings of the blessedness of poverty and humility alarmed the propertied classes. "He that is greatest among you shall be your servant." "Blessed are the poor, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven." "It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven." His enemies, led by the high priest of Jerusalem, finally seized him and turned him over to Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor of Judea, charging that he claimed to be king of the Jews and was plotting against Roman rule. Pilate, to please the Jewish leaders, crucified him.

The Jews believed that the death of Jesus would be the end of his influence. On the contrary, it was but the beginning. His followers believed that Christ rose from the dead, ascended into heaven from whence he would come again to judge the living and the dead. They believed that this second coming which would mark the end of the world and the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven, was to be soon and hastened to spread his teachings. His apostles travelled throughout the Mediterranean world, and even to the outlying parts of the Roman Empire, preaching his doctrines and baptizing those who accepted them as a symbol of their admission into the

brotherhood of Christians. One of these disciples, Simon called Peter, went westward and endeavored to convert the Romans. The great apostle to the Gentiles, as the non-Jews were called, was, however, Saul of Tarsus. Probably of Jewish origin, at first bitterly anti-Christian, Saul was converted, took the name of Paul and after some successful missionary labors in the east devoted himself to the conversion of the people of Italy and the west to Christianity. Paul wrote several letters or epistles in which he did much to definitely establish and fix the doctrines and practices of the Christian Church. Many believe that he, even more than Jesus, gave Christianity the form which it has kept ever since.

The early Christians met not only with indifference but with active persecution from the Jews, the rabble of the cities and the Roman government itself. Although Rome tolerated the introduction of oriental religions it tried to stamp out Christianity because Christianity was an exclusive religion. Christians insisted that theirs was the only true religion and they would have nothing to do with the Roman gods. Since they preached against the state religion and refused to worship the emperor they were considered treasonable and a direct danger to the state. Due partly to a desire to discredit the Christians, and partly to a failure to understand their teachings, they were often charged with gross crimes and immoralities. Pestilence, famine, military reverses—any public calamity was blamed on them. "If the Tiber rises above its banks," writes Tertullian, "if the Nile does not overflow, if the skies are not clear, if the earth quakes, if famine or pestilence come, up goes the cry 'the Christians to the lions!' "

During the first three centuries of the Christian era there are records of ten official persecutions. Various forms of torture were devised in the attempt to crush the faith of the Christians. Their bodies were smeared with pitch and used as torches to light the imperial gardens; their bones were broken upon the rack; they were thrown to the wild animals of the arena to be torn to pieces; their buildings were burned; their books were destroyed; Roman citizens who became

Christians lost their privileges; but it was all to no purpose. The persecutions helped rather than retarded the growth of Christianity. Christians died heroically for the faith, anxious to become martyrs, since they believed that a martyr's death was the surest guarantee of eternal happiness. Aroused by the example of the martyrs and impressed with the holy life of the Christians, the people of the Empire gradually gave up their faith in the pagan gods and embraced Christianity.

In 311, Galerius, Emperor of the East, issued an edict allowing the Christians to rebuild their churches and to worship as they pleased. Two years later Constantine, the western Emperor, in the famous edict of Milan proclaimed religious toleration. From that time on Christianity flourished. Constantine himself became a Christian, built several churches and favored the Christians by many edicts and laws. Toward the close of the fourth century Theodosius the Great made Christianity the state religion. Paganism slowly disappeared, and when the Roman Empire crumbled it left to inherit its strength, traditions and culture a powerful organization, reaching everywhere, embracing all men, touching their lives at all points—the Christian Church, whose members, once despised and persecuted, were now to assume the task of moulding a new civilization.

The persecution of the Christians naturally tended to unify them and clarify their beliefs. If men were to die for a belief it must be a definite one. Gradually, therefore, there grew up a creed, an elaborate body of doctrine or dogma. This process was hastened by Christianity becoming the official religion of the Roman Empire. Christianity was an institution requiring a ritual and ceremony, a more elaborate organization and a more complete theology than it had possessed when it was the religion of a few scattered groups of humble people. How much of this dogma and ritual was instituted by Christ himself or by later interpretations of his teachings and how much was added by Paul and others of his early followers is a question that concerns theology rather than history. It will help us to understand the position and

influence of the Church, however, if we outline the main beliefs that it had come to hold in the closing days of the Roman Empire.

The Church taught that all, because of the fall of Adam and Eve as recounted in the Book of Genesis of the Old Testament, were born in a state of sin. In atonement God had sent His Son Jesus Christ into the world to be offered up as a sacrifice. Christ, therefore, was the God Man who came to wash away the sins of the world on the Cross. Those who believed in Christ, accepted his teachings and followed his precepts were cleansed from sin and after death their souls entered into a state of eternal happiness in heaven. The souls of those who did not accept the teachings of Christ were condemned to suffer eternal torment in hell. The primary purpose of the Church was to save souls; this it could do through the sacraments, seven in number: Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, Holy Eucharist, Extreme Unction, Matrimony, and Ordination, which could be performed only by the clergy.

The sacraments and other ceremonies of the Church had grown up gradually, and as they developed, the power of the clergy as a class separate from the great body of believers had developed with them. The clergy took charge of all Church services, managed the Church property, administered the sacraments and looked after the spiritual wants of the laity, as the body of non-clerical believers was called. Gradually the distinction between clergy and laity came to be more and more defined. The clergy wore a distinct garb; they enjoyed special privileges; they were exempt from taxes; they were usually the only educated people. The laity held the clergy in especial veneration and honor.

Very early in the history of the Church there appeared various grades among the clergy. Those who conducted the services were called presbyters, a Greek word meaning elders, from which we have derived our word priest. The priests were assisted by minor officials called deacons and sub-deacons. As the Church grew, some of the priests were designated as

overseers or bishops. A bishop usually had charge of all Christian affairs within a city. A group of bishops were under the supervision of an archbishop or metropolitan, and in time all were under the control of the Bishop of Rome who about the third century came to be called Pope. This organization of the Church was quite naturally modeled after that of the Roman Empire. The Pope can be compared to the emperor, the archbishop to the governor of a province, the bishop to the chief city official. With minor changes this is still the method of organization of the Roman Catholic Church.

The growth of the power of the Bishop of Rome to the position of absolute ruler of the Church was a gradual one due to various causes. From the first he enjoyed a greater power than the other bishops because the Church of Rome was believed to have been founded by Peter whom Christ had singled out as the leader of the Apostles. In addition to this, Rome was the eternal city, the seat of the imperial power, the most important city of the Empire. It was only natural that the head of the Church would choose it as the seat of his authority. Many missionaries were sent out from Rome to convert the peoples of the west and they naturally turned to Rome for guidance. There were no rival bishoprics of importance in the west to dispute the authority of Rome. As the imperial government lost its hold and disorder became common, the Bishops of Rome stood out; they assumed the functions of the civil government and won the confidence and respect of the people. Evidence of the leadership of Rome becomes more abundant as the centuries pass. In 445 the Emperor Valentian III issued a decree ordering all bishops to recognize the Bishop of Rome as their head, to obey his commands and accept his decisions. By the close of the sixth century, the primacy and supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, or Pope, was universally established and recognized.

To disagree with the doctrines of the church or to question its authority was heresy. Although heresy was the supreme crime, always punishable by death, heresies were common

throughout the history of the church. One of the most important of the early heresies was that known as Arianism from its chief protagonist Arius, who denied the divinity of Christ. This belief spread widely through the east and was carried into the Western Empire by various Germanic tribes who had been converted by Arian missionaries. In order to have this heresy thoroughly discussed Constantine called a meeting of all the Bishops of the Church at Nicea in Asia Minor in 325. This Council of Nicea drafted what is known as the Nicene or Athanasian creed, a brief summary of Christian beliefs in which Christ is asserted to be equal to God in power and glory.

Other heresies led to the convocation of other general councils of the Church, at which matters of doctrine or discipline were discussed. The decisions of the Councils, when ratified by the Pope, constitute what is known as the canon law of the Church. The heresies and disputes over the questions of doctrine brought forth a number of able defenders of the Church, who, because of their saintly lives and brilliant writings are called the "Fathers of the Church."

The frequency of heresy in the East, the lessening of the control of the Pope due to the disorder of the times, the difficulty of travel and the jealousy of the rival Bishops in the East ultimately led to a schism in the Church; East and West broke asunder and each followed their separate ways. This schism was completed by the eleventh century, but the East had by that time abandoned its heretical doctrines and today the Greek Orthodox or Eastern Church, which is the religion of Russia, teaches the same fundamental principles as the Western or Roman Catholic Church; it differs from the Roman Church in that it does not recognize the Pope of Rome as the head of Christendom, it allows certain of its clergy to marry, and it uses in its service the language of the people instead of Latin as does the Roman or Western Church. Because it has no contrary doctrines or teachings it is called a schismatic not an heretical Church. This spiritual separation between East and West is equal in importance to the political

separation that occurred in the fifth and sixth centuries. East and West went their separate ways, save during the Crusades, until the economic influence of trade and commerce, at all times destroyers of boundaries, brought them together and merged their civilization, a process still going on.

The Church in the Middle Ages

Having outlined the beginnings of Christianity, the organization of the Church and the development of the Pope's power, we are now ready to consider the part which the Church played in the life of the Middle Ages. Throughout the thousand years that followed the fall of Rome, the Church was by far the most important institution of western Europe. The people of the Middle Ages, much more than those of today, were concerned with the future life. Man's existence upon earth was thought to be but a preparation for the life to come; his sojourn here was short, life hereafter was eternal. Therefore the ills, sorrows, and misfortunes of this life were to be considered lightly; the more one suffered here the greater would be the reward in Heaven. The search for happiness hereafter, the constant thought of the life after death, aptly termed "otherworldliness," dominated the spirit of the age. And the way to happiness in the future life lay only through the Church and its sacraments.

Everyone was a member of the Catholic (universal) Church, being brought into it by baptism soon after birth as a matter of course. The parish priest, frequently the only person in the community who could read, was regarded not only as a moral guide and a loved and respected friend, but as a link with the outside world. Supervising the priests were the bishops and over them the archbishops. At the head of this hierarchy (*hieros* and *archein,* two Greek words which mean priest-rule) of officials, ruling all Christendom in spiritual affairs, was the Pope, like an absolute monarch ruling a vast empire. The Church, like a state, had a system of law, the canon law, which was enforced throughout Christendom by the ecclesiastical courts. (*Ecclesia,* a Greek word meaning

assembly, was used in early Christian times to describe a gathering of the faithful for prayer and devotion.) Like a state, the Church enjoyed a revenue from its lands and collected taxes—tenths from the clergy and tithes from the laity. In this absolute monarchy of the Church, the Pope was the supreme lawgiver. The decisions of all Councils required his sanction; he might abrogate any Church law not ordained in the scriptures. He was also the supreme judge, for an appeal might be taken directly to his court at Rome from any ecclesiastical court.

The Pope had two powerful weapons for enforcing his authority—excommunication and interdict. Excommunication applied to an individual, interdiction to a district, a province, or sometimes to an entire kingdom. The excommunicated person was cut off from all communion with the Church; he was not allowed to receive the sacraments; he was to be shunned by all the faithful; he was an outcast condemned by the representative of God on earth and if he persisted in his sins he was destined to a life of eternal torment. When a country was placed under the interdict all religious ceremonies ceased; the priests were allowed to administer only a few of the sacraments; the people were absolved from their allegiance to the king. Interdicts differed, of course, in their severity; some ordered a partial, others a complete cessation of all religions exercises. (The action of the Catholic clergy in Mexico, in suspending certain religious services as a protest against the anti-clerical laws of the government in 1926, closely resembles a medieval interdict.)

It was not only in spiritual affairs that the Church played an important part in medieval life. In the period of disorder that followed the break up of the Roman Empire the Church took over many functions of the state. It did its best to preserve order through its courts and by bringing pressure to bear upon the lords and kings. It took charge of all charitable work; it protected widows and orphans and dependents generally. In the Church courts were tried not only cases concerning clergymen or others connected with the Church

but also those in which were involved sworn contracts, blasphemy, heresy, marriage and wills. Of the complete control of education by the Church we will speak later.

Besides these powers which the Church exercised in conjunction with the civil officials, Church officials were often temporal rulers of large territories. The Pope became the ruler of the central part of Italy and retained control of these Papal States, as they were called, until 1870. Bishops, archbishops, and abbots were often feudal lords, rivals of princes and kings. As feudal lords they exercised the same powers as dukes or barons; raising armies, waging wars, administering their districts, reaching out for more land.

The seven centuries from 313, when Constantine proclaimed religious toleration, to 1073, when Gregory VII became Pope, were centuries of steadily growing influence for the Church and steadily increasing power for the Pope. Although there were times when the Papacy lost prestige due to the weakness or corruption of individual Popes or to the unusual ability of individual kings, throughout the entire period the Church was by far the most powerful institution in existence and the Popes far more powerful than any temporal ruler. Gregory VII, before his accession to the papal throne, had asserted that "the Roman pontiff alone is called universal; he alone may depose kings; he may absolve subjects from their allegiance; he may be judged by no one." Upon his election to the Papacy, Gregory began to put these principles into effect and thereby precipitated a long struggle between the Papacy and the civil power. He issued a decree condemning lay investiture, as the appointment of bishops by kings was called. He sent papal legates to the various rulers, ordering them to cease interference in Church affairs. Henry IV of Germany at first refused to yield, but later went to Canossa to see the Pope, begged his forgiveness and did public penance. The pathetic figure of Henry, barefoot and in rags, standing before the church door where all could behold him, symbolizes the power of the Church in the Middle Ages.

Gregory's success by no means settled the problem. Popes who followed him had trouble with the kings of England and France, and particularly with the German kings who were trying to become masters of Italy. Finally, in the thirteenth century the Papacy reached the height of its power under Innocent III. He was rightly called the arbiter of Europe. He made and unmade the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, he forced the powerful Philip Augustus of France to take back his divorced wife, he compelled King John of England to accept Cardinal Stephen Langdon as the Archbishop of Canterbury. John in his submission surrendered England and Ireland to the Pope and received them back as fiefs.

The Papacy, as time wore on, lost the great power maintained by Innocent, never to recover it. The universal power enjoyed by the Church during the feudal period was no longer necessary when feudalism broke down. It was irksome to the kings who were laying the foundations of the present national states. They were naturally jealous of the power of the Pope and the bishops; they wished to impose taxes on the clergy; they wished to control the appointment of wealthy and powerful bishops and abbots thereby making the Church national rather than international; they disliked the power of the Church courts and endeavored to restrict it; they schemed to get the Church on their side in their wars with their neighbors.

As an illustration of this struggle between kings and Popes, in which the kings were ultimately successful, it may be well to sketch briefly the conditions in France. In the early part of the fourteenth century Philip the Fair of France refused to allow money to go from France to Italy to swell the funds of the Church. He tried to collect taxes from the Church. He even dared to bring to trial and imprisonment in his own courts a papal legate. When the Pope threatened excommunication, he sent agents to Rome who seized the Pope and brought him as a prisoner to France. From 1309 to 1370 the Popes were not allowed to return to Rome but resided at Avignon in southern France, where they were under

the influence of the French kings. This exile from Rome is called the Babylonian Captivity of the Church because of its similarity to the captivity of the Jews in ancient Babylon. In 1377, the Pope returned to Rome, but since a majority of the cardinals wished to remain at Avignon they elected another Pope and for forty years there were two rival Popes, each having the support of a part of Europe. This period is known as the Great Schism. A Council was summoned to settle the dispute but it resulted in the election of another claimant so that there were three Popes instead of two. The Council of Constance finally healed the schism by selecting one Pope who was recognized by all, but the long period of the Babylonian Captivity and the Great Schism struck a blow at the power and prestige of the Papacy and the Church from which it never recovered.

The Popes of the fifteenth century made little effort to win back the lost prestige. Not only did they lack the high ideals and statesmanlike qualities of a Gregory or an Innocent but they were too often dissipated and immoral. They interested themselves in Italy and in the local politics of the Papal States. Many became luxury loving patrons of the Renaissance, spending large sums of money in building magnificent churches and in maintaining an extravagant court, collecting manuscripts, organizing libraries and patronizing the arts. The papal power declined and the worldliness of the Popes naturally showed itself in the lives of the other clergy. Criticism of Church officials became common. The prevalence of heresy showed the weakness of the Church. In the fourteenth century, Wyclif, in England, founded a sect called the Lollards which attracted many followers. In the next century John Huss of Bohemia revived Wyclif's teachings and stirred the whole country by his criticisms of the doctrines of the Church. The Council of Constance which healed the Great Schism condemned the teachings of Wyclif and Huss, but no great leaders appeared to restore the Church to its former high position, until it was too late. The loss of power and influence of the Church continued slowly but

surely, culminating finally in the Protestant Revolt of the sixteenth century.

Monasticism and the Influence of the Church

One of the greatest services of the Church was that it held Europe together and preserved something of ancient culture and civilization during the anarchy of the Middle Ages. One of the chief agencies in this important task was the monastic system.

In the religious systems of the Orient the more devout and religious-minded felt it necessary to retire from the distractions of the world, live the life of hermits and by prayer, fasting and hardship win the happiness their souls were craving. This life of severe self-denial, prayer and fasting is called asceticism; the ascetic ideal is the basis of the monastic system. In the early Christian Church the ascetic ideal found its first adherents in the East, particularly in Egypt, but by the third and fourth centuries there were many western Christians following this mode of life. At first they lived the life of hermits, but for the sake of protection, in time these hermits came to live together and build houses, in which each had a separate cell. The people who so lived came to be called monks, from the Greek word "monos," which means alone. The places in which they lived were called monasteries, and the whole institution is called monasticism. The head of a monastery was an abbot or prior.

If we recall that according to the Christian idea this world is but a preparation for the life to come, it will not be difficult to understand why the very devout were eager to adopt the life of monks. Throughout the Middle Ages the life of the monk and the life of the soldier were the two highest ideals and were considered to furnish the greatest career for the individual. No doubt there were many who entered the monastery for less worthy reasons; such as a desire to be safe and free from the troubles of the world; or because they had suffered some great disgrace and wished to hide themselves from their friends; or because they were idle and indolent and

were unwilling to enter the hard fight in the world. But the great impelling motive was the spiritual one—the deep religious conviction that in so living they were perfecting themselves, pleasing God, and meriting a great reward hereafter.

In the sixth century, St. Benedict drafted a set of regulations which the members in his monasteries were to follow. This rule of St. Benedict became typical of all monastic orders. The monk upon first entering the monastery was to go through a period of probation, called the novitiate, to determine whether or not the vigorous discipline of the monastery appealed to him. After two or three years spent in the novitiate, the postulant became a full-fledged monk, took the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, and was usually ordained a priest. By the vow of chastity, he promised not to marry; by the vow of obedience, to obey in all things not sinful, no matter how small or trivial, how hard or difficult, the command of the abbot and through him of the Pope. By the vow of poverty, the monk renounced all worldly possessions. He owned nothing; he could receive nothing. His personal goods, even his coarse rough clothing were not his; they were considered the property of the monastery. The "rule of St. Benedict" prescribes in minute detail the daily life of the monk. The day was divided into periods of work, prayer, study, and sleep. The monks usually arose once or twice during the night to engage in prayer. The "rule" discouraged the practice of excessive fasting and self-mortification. It forbade self-inflicted punishments which would impair the health of the monk, for it was the custom of many to wear hair shirts, and heavy knotted cords that would irritate the skin.

The clergy who thus lived in a monastery were called the regular clergy because they lived according to a fixed "regula" or rule drawn by the founder of the monastic order; the other clergy who lived in the world, "saeculum," administered to the wants of the people, and looked after church property were called secular clergy.

The vow of poverty, it should be understood, applied to

the individual, not to the monastery. The monasteries indeed became immensely wealthy. They increased in wealth and power because land owners, nobles and kings gave land to them in return for the promise that the monks would pray for them. In the numerous wars of the feudal periods the land of the monastery was usually free from attack; it was considered sacred and holy ground by the most ruthless of the barbaric chieftains. Thus many gave lands to the monastery receiving them back as fiefs to prevent them from being ravaged and plundered. Monastic lands like the other church property became part of the feudal system. The abbots were vassals of the lords for the land of the monastery, and came to exercise great political influence and power. Because of this political influence and because of their enormous wealth the feudal lords sought to bring the abbots under their control. They frequently had themselves appointed lay-abbotts and thus had the right to collect the revenues and administer the property of the monastery. Inevitably the discipline became lax.

In the thirteenth century, in order to combat some of the evils that had crept in, a new type of monastic order was organized. Saint Francis of Assisi, one of the most beautiful characters in all history, though born of wealthy parents, decided to found an order whose followers would strictly adhere to the principle of poverty. They were to go about among the people barefooted, working or begging for their food, ministering to the people, caring for the sick and showing the people by the poverty and holiness of their lives an example of Christ-like perfection. His followers were called Franciscans, and also mendicant or begging friars (French word *frère*, brother). About the same time that Francis established his order, St. Dominic established another upon the same principle whose chief service would be to teach the people the doctrines of the church; hence they were called the preaching friars. The Dominicans became the champions of the church in combating various heresies. These two orders from the thirteenth century onward devel-

oped some of the ablest leaders, teachers and writers in the Church. Both of them changed as time progressed; they too gathered property, built monasteries and used them as centers from which they could direct the activities of their members.

The world's debt to Monasticism can scarcely be overestimated. The monks were the great missionary agents of the Christian Church; without them the concept of a united Christendom would never have been realized. In the fifth century Ireland was converted by Saint Patrick; in the sixth and seventh England was converted; from the monasteries of Ireland Saint Columban and Saint Gall crossed the channel and converted the people of northern France, establishing numerous monasteries; an English monk, Saint Boniface, brought Christianity to the Germans in the eighth century; Saint Cyril and Saint Methodius carried it to the Slavs; in the sixteenth century the Jesuits sent missionaries to India, China and America. Everywhere throughout Europe, roadside and hill top were studded with monasteries, outposts of Christianity, giving to the restless chaotic days of feudalism whatever of unity they possessed.

The "Rule of Saint Benedict" prescribed work for the monks. The monasteries were often situated in barren, out of the way places. The monks cleared the forests, drained the swamps, removed the stones, built the monastic walls, tilled the fields, and raised their own crops; in so doing they taught the dignity of labor in an age when labor was despised, yet needed. The monastery with its "hospitium" or guest room, was the wayside inn of the Middle Ages and in this way helped to foster trade and communication between countries. The monasteries were hospitals, charity dispensaries, and "agricultural colleges" for the neighborhood, the monks nursing the sick, giving food to the poor and teaching the people how to cultivate the soil.

The monks were the teachers of the Medieval World. They preserved the literature of the Ancient World. They laboriously made copies of the works of the Latin and Greek writers, illustrating the books they copied with exquisite drawings

and paintings. They collected books and manuscripts and kept rude chronicles of the times. If it were not for the zealous monks bent over their dreary tasks, in an age when there was no printing and when violence was rife, the world today would be without the literature of the Ancients. To their unheralded writings, preserved in the ruins of the monasteries, we are indebted for most of our knowledge of the feudal period.

INTELLECTUAL LIFE

The monasteries maintained schools for the children of the neighborhood in which they taught them the rudiments of the Christian faith, a little Latin and arithmetic, and sometimes geography and philosophy. The monastic schools were assisted in this work of teaching by schools that were attached to cathedrals and sometimes to the parish churches. Some people believe that there was no intellectual life and that there was no effort to educate the people during the Middle Ages. This opinion is not justified by the facts. "Illiteracy was common enough but the mass of the people were by no means entirely uneducated." The monasteries were the centers of learning and culture. They contributed many authors and writers. The Venerable Bede, Alcuin, Anselm, Abelard, Thomas Aquinas, Boniface, Gregory, Roger Bacon, Erasmus, Luther; to most of these it will be necessary to refer later.

As early as the eleventh century we can trace the beginnings of the first universities, some of which are still flourishing. The cathedral and monastery schools nourished a great intellectual revival which spread beyond their control. Able scholars began teaching independently and students often travelled long distances to attend their lectures. The teachers of the same city quite naturally banded together into a guild for their own protection. Sometimes the students formed a guild and were able to control their teachers. The term *universatas* (the Latin word for corporation or association) was used to describe the association of teachers or students, and from this comes our word, university. The

"universities" received special charters or protection from the city, king or Pope. If they did not get along well with the townspeople they would migrate to some more congenial center. Oxford, for example, was founded by students and masters migrating from Paris.

As in the trade guild, the student went through a period of preparation and study before he could become a "master," that is, one entitled to teach in his own right. In this way the master's degree originated. The bachelor's degree was a preliminary one giving the right to teach certain subjects; the doctor's was a more advanced degree. Since there were few books, instruction was imparted by lectures of the masters, a method still commonly followed in universities. The university or association, as their numbers grew, divided into "colleges," which at first were little more than lodgings housing the poorer students, but later came to designate a particular branch of university study.

The studies commonly pursued were those of theology, law, medicine, and the "arts," the latter term embracing grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. Then, as now, universities developed reputations in certain directions. Paris was noted for theology, Salerno for medicine, and Bologna for law. The university of Bologna is the chief agency through which the Roman system of law penetrated into Europe, and where the famous Gratian developed the canon law of the Church.

The universities were for the most part under the protection of the Church and their members enjoyed most of the privileges of clergymen, being exempt from the payment of taxes, and military service, and entitled to trial in their own courts. The Church thus assumed the direction and control of education. The State took no responsibility for education, and herein lies an important distinction between medieval and modern education.

The guilds of the late Middle Ages sometimes maintained schools, but there was little education that did not come under the direct influence of the Church. Even after the

Protestant Revolt, education continued to be under the control of the Church authorities of the various Christian denominations. It is only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that there has grown up the ideal of a state-supported school system, free to all classes, divorced of all connection with religious instruction.

The term Scholasticism is usually applied to the system of instruction that developed in the schools and universities of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Its chief characteristics are emphasis upon precise logical reasoning, an effort to explain the religious doctrine of the church in terms of philosophy, and an over-zealous acceptance of the ideas of the Greek philosopher Aristotle as the basis of its philosophy. Very often the spirit of scholasticism is misunderstood. It is mistakenly supposed that scholastic philosophy was dependent upon the authority of the church or upon the authority of the Bible and that it therefore prevented free and independent investigation. This error is probably due to the fact that scholastic philosophy and scholastic theology are often looked upon as one and the same thing, since most writers on philosophy in this period were also writers on theology. One of the early scholastics, the famous Abelard already referred to, imitated Socrates in his insistence that the best way to reach the truth is to adopt an open-minded, critical attitude. "Constant questioning is the key to wisdom. Through doubting we come to inquiry and through inquiry we perceive the truth."

The chief fault with scholasticism was its over-emphasis upon the importance of the writings of Aristotle, and its unwillingness to cast aside some of his erroneous observations, particularly in the field of natural science. Aristotle was not available to the scholastics in the original Greek; most of his writings came to their knowledge from Latin translations which were made from the Arabic in the twelfth century. About the fifteenth century scholasticism entered upon a period of decline. It failed to take into consideration the progress that was being made in the natural sciences; in fact

xperimental science was almost completely ignored. There lso developed serious faults of method; these were endless nultiplications of distinction and sub-distinctions, and divi- ion and classifications on the plea of clearness, until they ame to be considered the most important part of the subject nd little progress was made in discussing new problems. This s also probably due to the fact that the early scholastics, f whom the most important are Saint Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus (from whom, by the way, we have derived the vord "dunce"), had elaborated a complete and exhaustive ystem of philosophy which received universal acceptance. There was little left for subsequent philosophers to do but to comment upon and expound their writings and quibble over non-essential details.

Little attention was paid to the subject of the natural ciences until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and even hen they were obscured by the all important interest attached o philosophy and theology. In some branches of natural sci- nce wild and fantastic ideas prevailed—all sorts of peculiarly haped plants and animals with odd characteristics and powers were supposed to exist. Stories were woven around these fabulous objects to point out morals to the people and in- culcate the love of God and His religion. Various plants and animals were supposed to have curative power. A physician prescribed for spots in the eye "that the patient take whole, in little wine or water, the worms with many feet that are found between the trunk and bark of trees." Obviously here was little knowledge of botany or zoology. Belief in demons, witchcraft, and magic was common.

The people of the Middle Ages imitated the Ancient Baby- onians in their interest in astrology. The old idea, that sick- ness and health, fortune and misfortune, depended upon the positions of the stars in the heavens, was prevalent. The words disastrous, ill-starred, jovial, saturnine, bespeak its wide-spread influence. This interest in astrology was the forerunner of the science of astronomy and ultimately led to the overthrow of the old idea that the sun went round the

earth. Another subject of interest to the medieval scientist was alchemy. The alchemists copied the idea of the Greeks that all substances were composed of the four elements, earth, air, fire and water. They believed that there existed some substance called the "philosopher's stone" that would change all the metals into gold. The search for this stone led to many important discoveries and ultimately laid the foundations for the important modern science of chemistry.

Among the discoveries of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries must be mentioned some of man's greatest inventions. The mariner's compass with its magnetic needle pointing to the north star and guiding sailors over uncharted seas was a necessary preliminary to the great explorations and discoveries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The alchemists discovered as early as the twelfth century that a mixture of charcoal, saltpeter and sulphur would cause an explosion. Gunpowder, however, was not put into wide practical use for another century, when it revolutionized warfare and in so doing aided in the complete overthrow of the feudal system. Both the mariner's compass and gunpowder were used by the Chinese before they were known in Europe and were probably brought from China. Experiments in glass making produced the magnifying lens, which later led to the invention of the telescope and microscope,—indispensable instruments of modern scientific research and progress. Clocks, chimney flues, glass windows, new dye stuffs and poisons were products of medieval inventions.

The greatest advocate of experimental science in the Middle Ages was the famous Franciscan monk, Roger Bacon (1214-1294). We know little of his own discoveries; he probably knew of the gunpowder and the lens. His greatest service consisted in his insistence on experimentation; he maintained that great progress of natural sciences could only be possible when men ceased their worship of Aristotle and the written word and investigated nature for themselves; he contended that there was no limit to the possibilities of human invention

and discovery; he predicted the invention of the steamship, automobile, and airplane; he was the herald of a new day, centuries ahead of his time. "Experiment, investigate," was his cry. When the world began to follow his advice in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Middle Ages ended and the period of modern history and civilization began.

CHAPTER IV

Rise of the National States

If we glance at a map of Europe today we find it divided into national states,—England, France, Spain, Italy. On the maps made since the World War we find several states that did not appear before,—Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Latvia. If we are asked to explain what a national state or nation is, we hesitate. Just what, for example, is France? France is a bit of territory with certain boundaries. True, but the territory was there before there was a France; in Caesar's time it was called Gaul. Today Alsace-Lorraine is part of France, in 1914 it was not. It is inhabited by people of the French race. True again, but what is the French race? Some Frenchmen are tall and light, others are short and dark. But they all speak French. Yes, but so do many of the inhabitants of Switzerland and Italy. But they all have one government. Yes, but the French government has changed many times in the past 150 years. A national state is a group of people of the same race or at least who believe themselves to be of the same race, inhabiting a definite area and ruled by one government; but all these things are not enough. There must be a feeling that they are one people, with a common culture and common ideals, a feeling that they are different from other people, a feeling of loyalty to the nation. This feeling we call nationalism and it is one of the most important sentiments in the world today.

France of today has all these characteristics of a nation,—definite boundaries, a people of the same race or at least of the same language, a supreme government and an intense feeling of nationalism. The France of the tenth century, when the

name was first used, had none of them. It was the task of the French kings from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries to establish definite boundaries which included practically all the people who spoke the French language, and to set up one supreme government within these boundaries. The feeling of loyalty was even slower in its development. In the tenth century the only loyalty was the personal loyalty of feudalism, loyalty to the person of the lord. This was quite natural in the days when means of communication were poor, trade was limited and the people of one locality knew little about any other. The people of France did not think of themselves as Frenchmen but as Angevins, Gascons or Burgundians. Gradually as the kings made themselves supreme over the feudal lords this personal loyalty to the lord was transferred to the king. But it was not until the French Revolution of 1789 that the idea of loyalty to the nation as distinct from the person of the king developed. Nationalism as a patriotic feeling of national solidarity is a product of the nineteenth century. The formation of national states, a necessary preliminary for the development of modern nationalism, is a development of the later middle ages, and the organization of Europe into national states is one of the factors marking the end of the middle ages and the beginning of modern times.

Nationalism, in the modern sense of the term, was of late development in other nations, as well as France, but by 1600 several of the modern states of Europe,—England, Spain, Portugal,—had established strong national monarchies and with few exceptions had acquired the boundaries which they still have. Many others did not come into existence until the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, when the spirit of nationalism was triumphant and many oppressed and submerged nationalities succeeded in achieving national unity. It is our purpose in the present chapter to outline briefly the beginnings of these states, but first we will try to see why two of the other powerful states of today, Germany and Italy, did not achieve national unity until the nineteenth century.

GERMANY AND ITALY—THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

As the power of Charlemagne's successors waned, the power of the feudal lords increased. The ruler that counted was the one nearest at hand; the distant king was a legendary figure to most people, if indeed they ever heard of him at all. The idea of kingship, however, persisted. For a time the lineal descendants of Charlemagne kept the title, but as they were too weak to hold it the custom grew up of having the more powerful feudal lords elect the king. For two hundred years after Charlemagne's death the same conditions, feudalism and a meaningless title of king, existed in all three parts of his former empire. The king of the West Franks finally built up his power until he was supreme over the feudal lords. There were various reasons why this did not happen in Germany and Italy.

One of the chief obstacles to the formation of a strong Italian state was the power of the Pope. As we have seen, the Pope in addition to being the spiritual head of Christendom also became a powerful temporal ruler, having complete jurisdiction over the Papal States in central Italy. The Popes never recognized the power of the king in the Papal States and did not relish the idea of having a powerful king for a near neighbor. Many of the Popes played politics, setting rulers against each other in order to increase their own strength. Another factor which tended to prevent Italian unity was the fact that the German kings constantly interfered in Italy, and for a time, as we shall see, Italy and Germany were united in the Holy Roman Empire to the detriment of the national unity of both.

In Germany the office of king did not become hereditary so soon as in France; confusion and sometimes civil war resulted whenever a king died. The feudal states of Germany, especially those on the eastern and northern borders, seem to have had a more independent spirit, since even in Charlemagne's time they were not strictly subject to any central authority. The border duchies were exposed to constant attacks from

Northmen, Slavs and Magyars, so that a strong local leadership was needed. Finally, the attempt of the German kings to conquer Italy and to rule it as a part of the Holy Roman Empire took so much of their time and resources that they were unable to consolidate their power at home.

The first king of the East Franks to make his influence really felt was Otto the Great (936-973). After strengthening his power by putting relatives at the head of the principal duchies, he devoted himself to checking the various invasions along his borders. He drove back the Slavs in the north and as a bulwark against them established the Mark of Brandenburg, whose margraves were to expand their power, become kings of Prussia and in the nineteenth century German Emperors. In the south he drove back the Magyars and founded the mark of Austria, the beginnings of modern Austria. He then turned his attention to Italy, which was virtually in a state of anarchy.

One of the descendants of Charlemagne, Lothaire, had inherited the title of emperor along with Italy, but after a time the Popes had ceased to crown the kings and the title died out. Otto claimed the title of King of Italy on the strength of his marriage to the widow of one of the kings. He helped the Pope in a struggle against some of his enemies and in return the Pope crowned him emperor in 962, thus reviving, in theory, the Roman Empire. It came to be called the Holy Roman Empire, the emperors having the title of "Emperor Ever August of the Romans."

The emperors were elected by the more powerful German nobles and crowned by the Pope. After the thirteenth century the right to elect the emperor came into the hands of seven electors,—the Archbishops of Treves, Mayence and Cologne, the Electors of the Palatinate, Brandenburg and Saxony and the King of Bavaria. In spite of their grandiloquent title the emperors never had much power; what little they did have depended on the strength of their own kingdoms rather than on their position as emperor. After the thirteenth century the empire was practically nothing but a name. In the

words of Voltaire it was neither holy nor Roman nor an empire.

The history of Germany and Italy from 1000 to 1300 is a dreary record of war and confusion, of revolts of the nobles, and of struggles between emperors and Popes. When the emperor went to Italy the German nobles revolted; when he returned to Germany the Italian princes or the Pope plotted against him. The growth of towns merely added to the emperor's troubles, for as soon as they became wealthy they revolted and set up independent governments. Sometimes, a strong Pope humbled the emperor and forced him to do his will as for example, when Gregory VII forced Henry IV to come to Canossa. At other times, a strong emperor made and unmade Popes and temporarily actually controlled his vast realms.

The ablest of the emperors during this period was Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (1212-1250). In the eleventh century the Northmen had conquered Sicily and set up a powerful state. The Papacy gained a nominal control over the kingdom by inducing one of the kings to become the feudal vassal of the Pope. Frederick's father had gained the throne through marriage and Frederick devoted himself to establishing a strong kingdom there, defying the Pope who excommunicated him. He destroyed feudalism, provided for a standing army, a regular system of courts and a well organized scheme of taxation. His political reforms were confined to his Sicilian kingdom, but it was largely because of his influence that the Arabic or Saracen culture was introduced into the West. Algebra and Arabic numerals, and Arabic translations of Aristotle became part of the intellectual heritage of Europe. He established the University of Naples and encouraged the use of the Italian language.

Frederick departed on the Crusades and the Popes took advantage of his absence to stir up strife among the barons in Germany and in Italy. Upon Frederick's return, the old quarrel was renewed, only to be terminated by his death in 1250; a period of fist law called the Interregnum ensued, and

finally in 1273 Rudolph of Hapsburg was chosen emperor. Although election by the electors continued, the title of emperor became practically hereditary in the Hapsburg house. The Hapsburgs were the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire until 1806, and from that time until 1918 emperors of Austria.

The old effort to get control of Italy was abandoned by the Hapsburgs. Most of the emperors never bothered to be crowned by the Pope. The Popes, when seeking help and protection, appealed to the French kings, a policy begun toward the close of the thirteenth century, when the brother of the French king led an army into Italy at the request of the Pope, receiving as a reward the Hohenstaufen lands in southern Italy, and ended with the withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome at the outset of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Germany became a collection of duchies, bishoprics, free towns, petty kingdoms, and tiny districts ruled by knights loosely federated into an empire over which the emperor had but shadowy authority. The condition of Italy was similar. The chief points of interest in Italy were the free independent towns destined to become the centers of learning and culture. In central Italy the Pope retained control over the Papal states; in the south, Sicily was divorced from Naples and passed under the control of the Spanish kings, while Naples remained for a long while under French influence. There was a peninsula called Italy but there was no nation of Italians; there was a large territory that can be referred to as "the Germanies," but there was no Germany.

THE FORMATION OF A NATIONAL MONARCHY IN FRANCE

We have already noted that the course of events in the western part of Charlemagne's kingdom was quite different from that of the east. Feudalism became entrenched west of the Rhine as well as east of it, but as time wore on the French kings succeeded in overpowering the feudal lords. In building up their power at the expense of feudal lords, the French kings were not blinded as were the rulers east of the Rhine

by dreams of establishing a glorious empire. They did not engage in long disastrous struggles with the Papacy, but rather developed their strength at home before they began to reject dictation from Rome. The long Hundred Years War with England, while ravaging the country, did much to create a common loyalty and patriotism. When the sixteenth century opened, France was a united nation, one of the most powerful in Europe and destined along with her neighbor and enemy across the channel, England, to profoundly influence the course of history from that day to the present.

In the ninth and tenth centuries, the kings of the West Franks were kings in name only. The only part of France in which they had any but nominal power was in the royal domain, that is, in their own feudal lands that were directly under them. Elsewhere throughout the kingdom of France were the great fiefs of Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, Burgundy, Aquitaine. These originated in the tenth century and were virtually little nations within the French kingdom, whose rulers strove to increase their territories by war, marriage and purchase. The story of Normandy will suffice to give us some idea of the manner of their growth. In the ninth century the northern Vikings, in their numerous raids, harassed the northern shores of France. They were troublesome to the people and finally, to secure freedom from their invasions, the king of France offered to one of the Norman leaders, Rollo, a district along the northern coast of France. Rollo accepted it, settled there with his followers, assumed the title, Duke of Normandy, and his successors built up one of the best organized and strongest feudal states. We shall see that one of these dukes, William the Conqueror, succeeded in making England one of his possessions in 1066.

The feudal lords looked upon the king merely as the first feudal lord of the land. The task set before the French kings was clear,—destroy the power of the feudal lords. Numerous events conspired to help them, but one of the first and most important was the quality of the kings themselves. In 987 Hugh Capet, duke of France, a small district near

Paris, was elected king, and after a time the name of France came to be applied to all the region over which his successors ruled. The Capetian dynasty which he established ruled France for eight hundred years. Between 987 and 1328 there were only fourteen French kings. There was always a male child to succeed to the throne; the son was usually old enough to carry on the work of the father. An unbroken succession of able kings, with no dynastic or civil wars during a minority or a vacancy of the throne is the first explanation of the triumph of the French kings. For some generations the Capetians made little progress. Although William of Normandy was a vassal of the French king, his conquest of England really weakened France by putting some of her richest provinces under English control. The Plantagenet or Angevin king of England, Henry II, so increased by inheritance and marriage the number of his fiefs in France that more than half of France was the feudal property of the English kings.

The Capetian dynasty, however, was destined to triumph. In 1180, Philip Augustus, able warrior and crafty statesman, became king of France, and for forty-three years he struggled to increase the domain and succeeded in doing so chiefly at the expense of his English vassals. He made use of the bitter quarrels between Henry II and his sons (Geoffrey, Richard the Lion-hearted, and John) to weaken their power in France and increase his own. He aided first one and then the other; he could make promises easily and he knew when to break them. The English lost most of their French possessions, and these and others gained by similar methods the wise Philip kept for himself, instead of granting them to his friends as fiefs. Not only did Philip increase the territory immediately under the jurisdiction of the French kings, but he improved the system of administration. He sent *baillis* (compare our word bailiff), resembling the *missi* of Charlemagne, about his dominions, holding courts, settling disputes, collecting money, and making reports. Instead of compensating these *baillis* in the old feudal way, by giving them a large fief, he supported them out of the royal treasury. Philip also displayed his

wisdom in his method of dealing with the growing towns, which were fast becoming centers of trade. He offered them protection; he encouraged their growth and received in turn their loyalty, well expressed in large money grants.

Philip's successors carried on and elaborated his work. Able men from all classes were given governmental positions instead of depending on nobles alone. The Parlement of Paris (that is the king's court for the settlement of judicial disputes) was given the right to hear appeals from feudal and local courts, an important step in increasing the king's power at the expense of the feudal lords. (It should be noted that these French parlements were courts and not law making bodies, and the term is not to be confused with the English word parliament.) The royal coinage was improved and circulated throughout the country. In a struggle with the Papacy over the right to tax the clergy the kings triumphed completely. Philip the Fair, 1285-1314, forced the Pope to live in France, a practice that was continued for over seventy years.

The new national monarchies of both England and France were unwilling to allow the international church to dictate to them or interfere in their affairs. It is worth mentioning as we pass that, in modern as well as in medieval times, when a new state wants to establish national solidarity it usually enters into conflict with the established religion. This phenomenon, as we shall see, accompanied the English Revolution of the seventeenth and the French Revolution of the eighteenth century. It is also a vital factor in the history of Bolshevik Russia, modern Turkey and Mexico, and still an unsolved problem of the Fascist movement of modern Italy.

As chief feudal lord the king had a council of his principal vassals, lords and prelates, which met at his call. In 1302 for the first time Philip the Fair summoned representatives from the towns to meet with the landlords in order that he might get some of the merchants' wealth to help carry on his wars. In this way was started the Estates-General, the national assembly of France. For several centuries this body

met, not regularly, but at the king's call. It was made up of representatives of the three estates, the clergy, the nobility and the third estate which consisted of all free men who did not belong to the other two. They met not to initiate legislation but merely to hear the laws made by the king and to sanction new forms of taxation. The three estates sat separately, and the king always kept them under control. The only power granted to the various estates was the privilege of submitting a list of grievances, called a cahier, which they petitioned the king to remedy. These cahiers the kings could and did ignore when it so pleased them. The French national assembly always remained subordinate to the king and was never able to limit his authority until the famous national assembly of 1789, which ushered in the French Revolution. In England, as we shall see, Parliament became supreme and the king subordinate.

From 1338-1453 England and France carried on an intermittent warfare commonly known as the Hundred Years War. One main cause of the war was rivalry for the right to govern the various parts of France which the English kings held as feudal fiefs from the French kings. Another prominent cause was trade rivalry, especially the attempt of the French kings to stop the importations of English wool by Flemish weavers.

It is useless to attempt even to outline the long story of successes and reverses on each side. More significant is the use of new methods of warfare. In the earlier days of feudalism a few mounted knights clad in heavy mail, equipped with lances and spears made a formidable army. With a hundred such it was possible for a feudal noble to defy the king. Now, however, the long bow came into use and the arrows were able to pierce the coats of mail. The knight in full armor was no longer a match for the foot soldiers and consequently the armored knight soon passes from the stage of history. The Hundred Years War also witnessed the common use of gunpowder, which made the feudal castle obsolete as a defense and rendered impotent the feudal noble, since it made necessary

large bodies of troops which only the kings could supply. Infantry became a necessary part of an army; victory and power belonged to him who could hire and retain the largest number of soldiers. Kings started to organize standing armies, not, however, by raising the vast national armies as they do today, but by hiring mercenaries. The Swiss Archers and the Genoese Crossbowmen achieved reputations as the best soldiers of Europe.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Hundred Years War there spread throughout Europe, 1348, the horrible epidemic known as the Black Death. The disease originated, it is believed, somewhere in Central Asia and spread westward along the trade routes to Italy, France and England. It even worked havoc in Egypt, Africa, Asia Minor, and later found its way to China. It was probably the most virulent and destructive of all the plagues that have afflicted mankind. Some authorities estimate that it killed half the population of England. Thousands died. There were scarcely enough well people to bury the dead. Homes were disrupted, farms abandoned, labor disorganized, industry and trade ruined. This terrible scourge shook the foundations of society and led to a number of peasant uprisings. In France as a combined result of the poverty and suffering occasioned by the Black Death and the failure of the feudal lords to protect the peasants from the English and their mercenaries, the peasants revolted against their lords, burnt their castles and ravaged the countryside. Revolt was suppressed because the peasants were poorly armed and still more poorly organized. Similar uprising occurred in England and elsewhere on the continent; they grew increasingly frequent and are evidence of the gradual disappearance of serfdom.

The peasant revolt in England brought to the front a born leader, Wat Tyler. We know practically nothing of Tyler's early history. He is commonly supposed to have been a bandit, but this story may have been made up by those who wished to discredit the movement by blackening the character of its leader, a not uncommon practice of historians

and others even in the present time. Tyler led a large force of peasants to London, where they were in complete control for several days, killing unpopular nobles, burning their castles, releasing prisoners from prison. Among the prisoners freed by the mob was John Ball, the "mad priest of Kent," whose radical jingles such as "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?" had done much to stir up the peasants in the first place. King Richard, a boy of fifteen, having agreed to most of their demands, the main body of the peasants went home. Tyler with a few followers remained for a second meeting with the king to discuss further reforms. At the parley, held just outside London, Tyler got into an argument with some of the king's retainers and was stabbed to death. Bewildered by loss of their leader the peasants were easily overpowered. Hundreds were executed and the promised reforms forgotten. Wat Tyler's name lives as one of the earliest recorded martyrs of the working class in the long struggle for justice.

The Hundred Years War dragged on through plagues and rebellions. After years of indecisive fighting the French people on whose soil all the fighting was done were becoming discouraged, when their spirits were roused by the appearance of a peasant girl, Joan of Arc, who claimed that voices from God had directed her to deliver her country from the hands of the English. After some difficulty she succeeded in getting the French Dauphin (heir to the throne) and his counsellors to permit her to lead the French forces in battle. The enthusiasm and spirit instilled by her into the soldiers of France led to victory. She raised the English siege of Orleans and saw the Dauphin crowned in the Rheims cathedral, as she had predicted. With this task accomplished she begged leave to return to her peasant home; but the French armies had been so successful under her leadership that the king refused. She engaged in other battles, was finally captured by the Burgundians, who were allies of England, and turned over to the English. They tried and condemned her as a witch, and burned her at the stake. The story is told that as the flames

leapt about her one of the soldiers exclaimed, "We have burnt a saint." She was canonized by the Catholic Church in 1904. The spirit she had infused into the French army persisted, and within twenty years after her execution the Hundred Years War came to an end. The English gave up their claims to France and retained only the important seaport of Calais (lost in 1558) and the Channel Isles.

The war was disastrous to both countries, but in both the kings emerged triumphant over the disintegrating forces of feudalism. In France towards the end of the fifteenth century Louis XI (1461-1483) succeeded in bringing Anjou, Maine, Provence and the Duchy of Burgundy within the royal domain. His son acquired Brittany, so that by 1500 the French kings had practically completed the task of bringing under their direct control the various estates of the old feudal families. The government of the king was centralized and absolute. The Estates-General was unable to limit the king's power. Indeed, the Estates-General had surrendered its greatest weapon, control over the purse, when it allowed the king to use the taille, a general property tax, for the maintenance of an army. The kings increased the amount of the tax at will and with a standing army at their disposal could defy the feudal lords.

THE BEGINNINGS OF A NATIONAL STATE IN ENGLAND

The British Isles number more than five thousand. Great Britain, the largest of the islands, is divided into three parts, Wales, Scotland, and England. Wales and Scotland once boasted of independent governments, but they have been absorbed by England, and Scotland, Wales and England, considered together, are called the United Kingdom; the term British Empire is applied to England's vast dominions scattered throughout the world. England, a territory somewhat larger than the state of New York, now controls about one-fourth of the land surface of the globe.

Nature has blessed England in several ways. Her climate, although in a relatively northern latitude, is warm, largely

due to the Gulf stream; there is abundant rainfall, the soil is fertile. England is rich in mineral resources. The enormous production of coal and iron in the northern section of England is the basis of her industrial supremacy. Because of her proximity to Europe she has been affected by the great movements,—Roman Conquest, Feudalism, Crusades, Christianity, Protestant Revolution; at the same time her separation from the continent has caused all these movements to assume an especial form upon reaching England and it has left England, during the greater portion of her history, to develop her ideals, customs and institutions, free from interference on the part of European nations. Her long coast line would naturally lead her people to take to the sea, and England has become the greatest maritime power in the world. Her situation along the important trade routes between north and south, east and west has enabled her to gain the control of the carrying trade of the world, and indeed, combined with her enormous productivity and the industrial genius of her people, the supremacy in the world's trade.

There are still to be found traces of primitive man's life in Britain in the long ago, as for example Stonehenge. Of these early peoples, Picts and Scots, Celts and Britons, it will be unnecessary for us to speak; nor need we dwell upon the Roman conquest of Britain by Julius Caesar in 55 B. C. and the effects of the Roman occupation. Traces of this occupation we can find in the names of towns ending *cester* and *chester,* which come from the Latin *castra,* meaning a camp. There are remnants of Roman roads, aqueducts, baths and other public works. But when the imperial Roman government found her power slowly slipping from her grasp, Britain was the first of her provinces to be abandoned, 449 A. D. Subsequent invasions so transformed and fused the effects of the Roman occupation that they are difficult to trace and of little practical importance. With the disappearance of the Roman legions from Britain she became, in the fifth and sixth centuries, a prey to tribes of Jutes, Saxons and Angles (Angleland, England). These Anglo-Saxon tribes, who came from

earlier homes along the Baltic, were Teutonic in origin and related to other tribes which were overrunning the Roman empire about the same time. They pushed the earlier inhabitants towards Wales and Scotland, and in the course of time established seven different kingdoms, known as the Heptarchy (Essex, after the East Saxons, Wessex, after the West Saxons, etc.), which warred against each other for supremacy. On the continent the Teutonic invaders, Franks, Lombards and others, fused with the Romans, adopted their legal institutions and customs and to a large extent their language; in England, on the other hand, the Teutonic influence remained dominant and the Saxon tribes had a free opportunity for the widespread development of their own language and institutions. Their conquest of England, for example, was so complete that it was necessary for the Roman Church to send out missionaries to convert them, although England had been Christianized during the occupation of the Romans. The descendants of those who had been converted in the days of the Roman occupation had been driven to the north and west, where they continued their beliefs although cut off from Rome.

In the ninth century the Saxons united against the common foe, the Northmen or the Danes as they called them. We have already referred to the exploits of the sea roving Northmen. Since England was near their home it was long subject to their raids. They first came in the ninth century, and Alfred the Great (871-901), the first famous English king, united the Saxons against them. After more than fifteen years of fighting he finally succeeded in entering into an agreement with the Danes by which they agreed to accept Christianity and to divide England with the Saxons. The region in the north occupied by the Danes was known as the Danelaw.

Besides gaining fame as a warrior and statesman Alfred was greatly interested in education and literature. He organized a court school for the children of the nobles similar to the school of the palace of Charlemagne. He translated several books from Latin into Anglo-Saxon and is therefore some-

times called the father of English prose. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a carefully kept record of the doings of his people probably written with his encouragement, is the oldest work in a modern language, if indeed Anglo-Saxon can be considered modern.

Under Alfred and his immediate successors England became really a unified country recognizing one king. There was a national council called the Witangemot, which in theory limited the king's power, and also various local assemblies. Intermittent raids by the Danes continued, and finally in the eleventh century a Danish king, Canute, became king of England. The Saxon dynasty was restored, however, in the person of Edward the Confessor, 1042-1066, but not for long. He died childless and a dispute over the throne arose between Harold, Earl of Wessex, and the powerful William, Duke of Normandy. They fought out the issue at the battle of Hastings or Senlas Hill, 1066, and William won. It was the last successful invasion of England.

William the Conqueror established a real national monarchy. He seized the lands of all those who opposed him and distributed them to his friends. He built fortresses throughout the kingdom and garrisoned them with his own troops. He retained the local assemblies, allowing the old Anglo-Saxon laws and institutions to remain unchanged, but he kept control of the local governments through sheriffs (shire-reeves) appointed by himself. He had a great survey of the country made, the famous Domesday Book, in order to know in detail its wealth and resources for purposes of taxation. He controlled the election of bishops and archbishops and refused to allow papal decrees to be published, or papal legates to enter the country, without his consent. Consequently the bitter conflict between church and state which weakened the Holy Roman Empire and taxed the energies of the French kings, caused only occasional annoyance to the English rulers.

Through the large earldoms that had been set up during the later Saxon period a modified form of feudalism already existed. William, by confiscating large areas and granting them

to his friends, thoroughly established feudalism, but with important differences from the system existing on the continent. The feudal lords of the continent were often more powerful than the king,—indeed, William himself, as Duke of Normandy, exercised far more influence than the king of France. This was partly due to the fact that only the great lords who held fiefs directly from the king took an oath of allegiance to him. The minor landholders swore fealty to their immediate lords so that in a contest between the king and the lord they were loyal to the lord. In England, William forced all the landholders to take an oath of allegiance directly to him (the famous Salisbury Oath). Whether due to this oath or to William's system of sheriffs directly responsible to himself or to the fact that most of the great lords were Normans in a strange land who had received their gifts as a fief from William, the feudal lords of England never overshadowed the king as they did on the continent.

The establishment of a strong national monarchy by William, while from our present point of view the most important effect of the Norman Conquest, is by no means the only one. A new racial strain, the Norman-French, was added to the Anglo-Saxon. Most of the higher clergy, nobility, and government officials were Norman, so that England's political institutions are more Norman than Saxon. Numerous French words became part of the English language. Norman architecture was introduced into England; Norman artisans brought their trades; Flemish weavers settled in England. Trade with Normandy flourished, and England was inevitably drawn into closer touch with the sweep of events on the continent.

Although William's successors were not so able or so powerful as he and although rebellions and disputes over the succession to the throne occurred, the power of the king was never seriously threatened. The English gained a precarious foothold in Ireland in the twelfth century. Wales was conquered and amalgamated in the thirteenth. Scotland successfully resisted all attempts at permanent conquest and was

joined to England only when her king became king of England in the seventeenth century. In 1154 the possessions of the English kings in France were greatly increased by the accession to the throne of Henry, son of the Count of Anjou and Maine and Matilda, William the Conqueror's granddaughter. Henry II was the first of the line of Angevin or Plantagenet kings, who for three centuries devoted a large part of their time to their French possessions. The eventual loss of these possessions in the Hundred Years War turned the attention of the kings more to England and completed the amalgamation of Norman and Saxon into one homogeneous English nation.

In Henry II's reign occurred two developments of great importance both for England and for the rest of the world,—the beginnings of the English common law and of the jury system. Before Henry's time royal officials had made occasional visits to different parts of the country to settle disputes and guard the king's interests. Henry divided the country into districts and provided that judges should go regularly on circuit and hold court in each of these districts. The law in accordance with which these judges decided cases was the custom, Saxon and Norman, that had developed. Our idea of law as something made by a ruler or legislature is of distinctly modern origin. Originally a law was, like a law of nature, a statement of cause and effect, a statement of what custom decreed should be done. The decisions given by the judges were used as the basis for future judgments. In this way the common law gradually became unified and standardized for the whole country.

As time went on the body of decisions grew. Lawyers studied the decisions and wrote summaries or commentaries,—Bracton in the thirteenth century, Fitzherbert in the sixteenth, Coke in the seventeenth, and Blackstone in the eighteenth. These commentaries are used as texts in modern law schools. The common law supplemented by statutes, that is, law made by a legislature, is still the law of England. Moreover it has been carried by the English to their colonies and

is the basis of the law of all the states of the United States with the exception of Louisiana, where the Napoleonic Code takes its place. In most of the states, statutes, which themselves are often only the common law enacted into statute law by a legislature, cover almost the entire field of law, but if a point arises which is not covered by statute the judges have recourse to the common law to find a basis for their decision.

This establishment of royal courts administering a uniform law throughout the country was an important factor in limiting the power of the lords and strengthening that of the king. In these courts developed also a practice out of which the modern jury system ultimately evolved. Henry decreed that disputes concerning land ownership should be determined in his courts by the mere testimony of twelve men of the neighborhood, who presumably knew the facts. The twelve men did not constitute a jury in the modern sense, hearing the evidence of witnesses, and then deciding the issue. Three centuries passed before the witnesses were to be distinct from the jurors. This method he used to settle civil disputes; in criminal cases twelve men from the neighborhood were called upon to make accusations against any persons in the neighborhood they thought guilty of crime. This accusation jury did not determine the guilt or innocence of the accused—that was still to be determined by the old methods of trial by ordeal, battle, or compurgation. The trial by ordeal had various forms,—the accused might be ordered to plunge his hand into hot water, carry hot irons, or walk on hot plowshares, and if he was not seriously injured it was assumed that God had performed a miracle to save an innocent man. In the trial by battle, the disputants or their representatives would meet in battle on the theory that God would champion the right. In the trial by compurgation, the accused was required to furnish a varying number of witnesses to swear that he was telling the truth on the theory that God would punish those who took a false oath. The method of trial by ordeal disappeared after its condemnation by Pope Innocent

the Third and a trial jury similar to that used in civil cases developed. However, this accusation jury is the parent of the modern grand jury which presents a formal indictment or accusation against a suspected criminal, whose guilt or innocence is subsequently determined by the trial jury. It is in these representative juries of Henry II which brought criminals to justice, decided cases, and assessed taxes, that we can trace the beginnings of the representative system, later applied to Parliament.

The jury system became common throughout England, because it was the method used to obtain the facts and settle disputes by the itinerant justices that Henry sent on circuit of the kingdom. These circuit judges held courts of assizes in the various parts of England. Their chief service, from our present point of view, was to limit the power of the courts of the feudal lords and enhance that of the king, while they extended the royal authority throughout the country.

It is not necessary for our present purposes to tarry over the history of England for the three centuries that followed the reign of Henry II, for by the end of the twelfth century England had become a national monarchy. True it is that succeeding kings had to complete the task, and had to engage in quarrels with the nobles and with the Church. Elsewhere we have told of the effects of the wars with the French and the Black Death, and it will be necessary to discuss in some detail the rise of commerce, the decay of serfdom, and the development of Parliament, all of which were important factors in contributing to the growth of national states. Suffice it now to say that in these centuries the king continued to be a truly national figure and, indeed, under the Tudors, as we shall see, when the power of Parliament was temporarily in eclipse, became actually the absolute ruler of the kingdom. It is significant that England was one of the first of modern states to be founded as a truly national state. The rest of Europe followed haltingly behind.

Before we leave the subject of the formation of national states, however, it will be convenient to describe briefly

the origin of some of the lesser states,—Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Norway, Sweden and Denmark,—still leaving for a later discussion the story of the rise of Russia, Prussia, and Poland, for their time of emergence as national states and powers falls two centuries later than those states which now concern us.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Early in the eighth century the Iberian peninsula was overrun by the Mohammedans—Arabs and Berbers from northern Africa. Checked in their advance into Europe at the battle of Tours (732), the Moors, as they were called, settled down south of the Pyrenees and established one of the most prosperous and civilized states in Europe. Here, cut off from the rest of Europe, flowered a high degree of culture and intellectual power at a time when the rest of Europe was slowly emerging from the anarchy of feudalism. Prosperity, however, was of short duration and by the middle of the eleventh century the caliphate of Cordova, as this part of the Mohammedan empire was called, had yielded to the attacks of other invaders from Africa. A few small Christian kingdoms had endured in the remote mountainous districts and they now began to add to their territories at the expense of the weakened Moors. By 1250 three of these—Castile, Aragon, and Portugal—were strong states; Portugal had attained its present boundaries. In 1469 by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, Aragon and Castile were united and continued to struggle to drive the Moors from Spain, a task they finally accomplished by the capture of Granada in 1492, just before the Spanish rulers financed the voyages of Columbus. For the next century Spain, largely because of her colonial possessions, was one of the richest and most powerful states in Europe. The story of the commercial greatness of Portugal and Spain and of Spain's rule over Portugal (1580-1640) and the collapse of the prosperity of both will be told later.

SWITZERLAND

The early history of Switzerland is closely connected with that of the Holy Roman Empire. The three cantons of Schwys (from which we get the name Switzerland), Unterwalden, and Uri constitute the nucleus of the Swiss confederation. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries these cantons had received special privileges from the emperor, being under his immediate jurisdiction and not dependent upon any count or lord. When the Hapsburgs acquired the imperial title, they became eager to extend their power and sought to acquire control of these cantons. The cantons, however, organized the "Everlasting League" in 1291, assisted each other in case of attack, defeated the Hapsburgs in a battle at Wargarten (1315), winning for themselves a number of political rights and a lasting reputation as the best soldiery of Europe. A new confederation was formed similar to but stronger than the old; other cantons joined the three original members of the league, and by the close of the century the Hapsburgs renounced their feudal rights and privileges. At the opening of the sixteenth century there were thirteen cantons belonging to the confederation, which was at that time a practically independent state, though it was not formally recognized as such until the Peace of Westphalia, 1648. Although they differ in race, religion, language, habits and customs, the Swiss, because of their long hatred for a common foe, have been able to overcome their local jealousies and differences.

AUSTRIA

Oesterreich or Austria was one of the marches or marks that Charlemagne established on the eastern border of his kingdom to repel the invasion of the Avars. The Magyars obtained control of it, but it was again annexed to the Empire by Otto the Great. It became a duchy in the twelfth century and the dukes of Austria spent their time in fighting the Magyars to the east and in adding to their territory. We

have already noted that the Hapsburg rulers of Austria became emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. It may be well to repeat that we should distinguish between the Hapsburgs as kings of Austria and as emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. As emperors they had an empty title, as kings of Austria they exercised considerable influence in the historical development of central Europe.

HUNGARY

After their defeat by Otto the Great, the Magyars settled down along the Danube east of Austria, forming the state that was to become Hungary. They were conquered by the Turks in the fifteenth century and remained tributary to them until the Hapsburgs drove back the Turks and became rulers of Hungary in 1699. The union of Austria and Hungary lasted in one form or other until the close of the World War.

SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES—DENMARK, NORWAY, SWEDEN

The Scandinavian countries in the north were settled by Teutonic tribes at about the same time that others were coming into the Roman Empire. They had little contact with the rest of Europe for centuries except to send out the marauding Northmen. Three separate kingdoms, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were established which in the fourteenth century were merged into one. In about 1500 Sweden broke away from this union and under a series of brilliant kings played a prominent part in European affairs.

SUMMARY

We have been primarily concerned in tracing the development of dynastic national states. As new tribes and peoples migrated into Europe feudal anarchy replaced the order and governmental system of the Roman Empire. In central Europe, Charlemagne succeeded for a time in checking the decay of civilization. His successors endeavored to create an empire modeled after the Roman Empire, but they found themselves harassed at home by feudal barons whom they

could not overpower and they engaged in a long fruitless struggle with the Papacy. In central Europe we found that no strong national states developed, but we had occasion to note the rise to power of the Hapsburgs in Austria and the Hohenzollerns in Prussia. In southwestern Europe there appeared the national states of Portugal and Spain, and the tiny republic of Switzerland. In the west, the Franks, through the efforts of the Capetian dynasty, triumphed over the feudal lords and the international political system of the Papacy. In the process of nationalization, the French were forced to engage in a long struggle with the British. The French Estates-General lost its early importance, became a memory and the French Monarchy entered the sixteenth century absolute and unrestricted. In England similar problems confronted the kings—internal quarrels with feudal lords, foreign wars against invaders, an exhaustive effort to retain control of their possessions in France and a struggle with the Papacy, which ended in preventing the Papacy from interfering with the growing strength of the kings. England, like France, was in the sixteenth century an absolute, unrestricted monarchy, but there were the beginnings of a parliament which was to assume control in the seventeenth century.

Profound social and economic changes influenced and accompanied the collapse of feudalism and the development of national states. The growth of trade, commerce, towns and industry, the appearance of money as a means of exchange, the improvements in shipping, the discoveries and explorations, the growth of national literatures, the revival of interest in learning, education, science and art, an increasing dissatisfaction with the church, are important characteristics of this period. Some of these we have already touched upon; others it will be necessary to examine in detail if we are to appreciate the Europe of the sixteenth century and watch the slow expansion of its commerce, its ideals, its customs and its political institutions throughout the world.

CHAPTER V

The East

CHINA

So far in our story we have confined ourselves to Europe and the nearby lands which directly affected European civilization. We must not forget, however, that throughout the long centuries which saw the rise and fall of Egypt, Babylon, Greece and Rome, the formation and disruption of Charlemagne's empire, the anarchy of the middle ages and the beginnings of the modern national states in Europe, there existed in distant China one continuous civilization which rivaled and in many ways surpassed any that the west produced. While Rome was still a shepherd's village and London, Paris and Berlin were but camping places for wandering savages, on the banks of the Huang-ho and the Yang-tse-kiang were large cities of well built houses where men in silken clothes and leather shoes wrote poetry, painted pictures, and in polite conversation speculated on the ends and aims of existence. It is China's strength and also her weakness that the way of life established before the time of Pericles has persisted, with but minor modifications, right down to the twentieth century.

Of the early history of China we have little definite knowledge. Archaeologists have not yet delved into her secrets. Her early literature, still imperfectly known to the west, indicates that Chinese civilization was peculiar to China, developing there uninfluenced by other parts of the world. Although there are records of Chinese emperors as early as 2700 B. C., there was no centralized government, rather a number of petty states paying tribute to some king of kings,

somewhat like the feudal system of western Europe. Like Europe, too, China was subject to attacks of barbarians on her borders, the most persistent of whom were the Huns or Mongols, nomad peoples to the northwest. In the third century B. C. an enterprising emperor welded the Chinese states into a close federation and built the great wall as a protection against invasion. This mammoth structure, 1500 miles long and twenty to thirty feet high, did not keep out the Mongols. At various times their chieftains ruled over parts of China, and in the thirteenth century A. D. Kublai Khan ruled as emperor of all China. But Chinese culture has conquered her conquerors. The Chinese Empire gradually expanded beyond the great wall until it included Mongolia, Manchuria, Tibet and Sinkiang. Ruling families have come and gone, there have been periods of high development of art and literature and periods of stagnation and decay, but through it all China has retained her customs and her culture.

One reason for the persistence of Chinese culture was her religion. Besides worshipping the spirits of nature, all men, high and low, worshipped the spirits of their individual forefathers. Since change in customs would show a lack of respect for the customs of their ancestors, little change was made. The religion had no theology, concerned itself but little with life after death and was singularly free from fear. Its ritual consisted mainly in elaborate ceremonies for securing the aid of the spirits of the dead.

This ancestor worship is often called Confucianism, but Confucius was not the founder of it in the sense that Christ or Mohammed were the founders of the religions which bear their names. Confucius was not a rebel as most of the great religious leaders have been; he was not even a reformer; he added nothing new. He was in the strictest sense of the word a conservative. Born in 551 B. C. at a time when the old religion seemed to be losing its hold on the minds of the people, he spent his life in studying the ancient writings, organizing the scattered traditions and teaching that the good old ways were best. He seems to have had but little in-

fluence during his lifetime, but after his death devoted followers preserved his collections of ancient rituals, laws and proverbs and wrote down his sayings. His ideas have dominated the life and thought of China down to the present day. He has been successively canonized and deified until he stands as China's chief god.

Confucius was not what is commonly called a religious man. He had no interest in the supernatural, in theology or in life after death. His greatest contribution was the ethical principles he laid down. For example,—"What the superior man seeks is in himself; what the small man seeks is in others." "What you do not like when done to yourself do not do to others." In his eyes, however, respect for one's forefathers was the greatest of all virtues. It was the highest duty of man to observe in most minute detail all the rites and ceremonies prescribed by the ancients. Unfortunately, this part of his teaching was more easily understood by most people than were his ethical principles, so that for many Confucianism became a meticulous observance of rules rather than a guide to righteous living.

Great as has been the influence of Confucius on Chinese life that of Lao Tze has been scarcely less. These two were contemporaries, but they were as unlike as it is possible for two men to be. Confucius was practical, Lao Tze a mystic. Confucius accepted everything that had been handed down by the fathers, Lao Tze was continually questioning and speculating. Confucius emphasized ceremony, Lao Tze scorned all forms of worship. Lao Tze's whole philosophy is given in one brief book, *The Tao Teh King*. According to him there are "three jewels" of character. The greatest of these is inactivity—that is passivity, non-resistance. "There is nothing in the world more soft and weak than water, yet for attacking things that are firm and strong nothing surpasses it." The other two jewels are humility and frugality. These teachings were too abstract and subtle for the great mass of people to grasp. Those who claimed to be his followers did the things that Lao Tze condemned most—organized themselves

into orders, built temples, sacrificed to idols, accumulated great wealth. Modern Taoism is a conglomeration of superstition, alchemy and spiritualism. Nevertheless the tranquility of Chinese character, the ability to rise above environment, to be happy in spite of adversity, bears witness to the potency of the teachings of the "old philosopher."

Today Confucianism is the religion of the aristocratic and educated classes in China. The more popular religions are a perverted Taoism and an equally perverted Buddhism which came into China from India about the second century B. C. Each of the three has borrowed freely from the others. No one of them would be recognized by its founder.

The leading class in China has always been the intellectual one, the mandarins, who include all the important government officials as well as the teachers. The mandarins do not inherit their positions but are recruited from all classes of society. Education tested by rigid examinations, is the sole qualification. Up until 1906 education consisted almost entirely of the study of the classics, particularly the writings of Confucius, so that the influence of the mandarins has always been conservative. The Chinese system of writing has thousands of symbols, some representing objects, some abstract ideas, some sounds. This makes reading and writing most difficult and consequently the great mass of people has remained illiterate. This has helped increase the prestige and power of those who could read, the mandarins. Below them come in order farmers, merchants and artisans, and at the bottom a large class of landless town laborers, the coolies. There has never been a powerful land-holding aristocracy or a large number of slaves. Since the Chinese have always been lovers of peace the soldier has always been looked upon as the lowest order in the social scale.

China has produced art and literature of high quality from the time of the ancient Egyptians down to modern times. Her literature is remarkable for its variety and its lofty ideals. In poetry especially have the Chinese excelled. While architecture, the modeling and casting of bronzes and the

making of beautiful porcelains have not been neglected, painting has been the preëminent art. Some of the Chinese landscapes have never been equaled by artists of any other time or place. The Han dynasty (206 B. C.-220 A.D.) was a period of great artistic accomplishment. The golden age was the Tang dynasty (618-907 A. D.). The Ming dynasty (1368-1644) was marked by a renaissance of art and literature. Since the downfall of the Mings, Chinese literature has become more formal and stilted, her art more given to profuse ornamentation. Both art and literature show a lack of originality, the Chinese being content to copy the fathers rather than to break new paths for themselves.

The Romans had a vague idea that there was such a place as China, but there seems to have been little actual intercourse between China and Europe before the thirteenth century. Then Dominican and Franciscan friars reached China and for a time conducted successful missions. At about the same time traders found their way to China and a considerable trade with Europe was carried on for several centuries. Printing from wood blocks, the manufacture of fine silks, "china-ware," paper, gunpowder, and the mariner's compass are some of the things that the west learned from China—or at least these were known in China long before they were in the west.

INDIA

We have less definite knowledge of the early history of India than of China. From myths and legends we gather that the original inhabitants were a dark-skinned people. About 2000 B. C. white people from the northwest migrated into India and conquered the natives, in some cases driving them back into the mountains and in others settling down beside them. These white conquerors are commonly called Aryans, but modern anthropologists attach little racial importance to this term. They spoke a language called Sanskrit, whose stem words show a relationship to Greek, Latin, German and English, and this has led to the doubtful assumption that all these peoples came from the same parent stock. Our knowl-

edge of them comes mainly from the Vedas, collections of hymns and religious rituals, some of them of great antiquity. The people which resulted from the amalgamation of these two races are called Hindus, who make up the great majority of the people of India today.

From time to time other invaders, Persian, Greek, Arab and Mongol have marched across the mountains and conquered parts of northern India, to rule a few years and be overthrown by native princes. Each of them has left, however, some traces of its racial stock and characteristics. The result is that India has always been and still is a land of many peoples differing in culture, language and religion. There is no one continuous civilization as there is in China, but rather many civilizations.

One of the most important characteristics of Hindu life is the caste system, which was probably the result of an attempt of the white conquerors to keep themselves distinct from the dark subject race. This attempt failed, as is obvious from the fact that Hindus today of all castes are dark-skinned, but the caste system remained as an essential part of their religion. According to the legend Brahma, the supreme god, created four distinct classes: (1) the priests or Brahmans, (2) the warriors, (3) the peasants and merchants, (4) the lowest class, whose duty it was to serve the others. These classes or castes were fixed for all time. It was impossible for a warrior, or his children, to become a priest or for a peasant to become a warrior. Anyone not a member of one of these four castes was considered an outcast or pariah. In time, in addition to the original castes, there developed a large number of sub-castes.

The religion which the Brahmans developed (Brahmanism or Hinduism) taught that all the concrete things of life were unreal; everything was but a fleeting manifestation of Brahma. Man could never gain peace until he lost himself completely in this infinite indescribable thing, Brahma. Death offered no way out, since the soul must return to earth. If one had lived a good life he might be returned as a prince;

if his life had been evil he might be a dog or a snake. (This is known as transmigration of souls.) Elaborate ceremonies and rituals were prescribed to aid in the annihilation of self, but the way most favored by the learned was a complete withdrawal from the world, a life spent in fasting, contemplation and prayer. This asceticism, as it is called, has been copied by other religions, and we may see its counterpart in the monasticism of the Christian church. Brahmanism is still the main religion of India, its followers numbering more than 200,000,000. From the metaphysical speculations of high caste Hindus have developed numerous mystic cults, such as Theosophism and New Thought, which at different times have had a considerable vogue in the West. Out of Hinduism developed the second largest religion of India, Buddhism.

Gautama, later called Buddha, the enlightened one, lived in the sixth century B. C. Born a prince and brought up in luxury, when he was about thirty he left his wealthy family and for six years lived a life of vigorous fasting and self-mortification in an effort to find peace for his soul in the Brahma. At last the conviction came to him that nirvana, that is salvation, peace, was to be won not by ceremonies and rituals, not by asceticism, but by living a sane and intelligent life. He rejected all gods, priests and prayer, he rejected the idea of transmigration of souls, and more important still he rejected all caste distinctions. "A man does not become a Brahman by his family or by birth. In whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brahman." He declared that one could gain peace for himself only by seeking peace for all humanity.

Buddha was the first great religious leader to preach social ethics, to emphasize charity and tolerance. He was the first to teach that salvation was possible for all, rich or poor, dull or brilliant. Buddhism was carried to Tibet, to China, Mongolia and Japan. Today, although Hinduism has replaced Buddhism throughout most of India, it is one of the great world religions. But modern Buddhism is far from the simple

ethical teachings of its founder. Buddha has become a god; statues of him are set up in elaborate temples and sacrifices offered to them. The good Buddhist is too often one who carries out the prescribed ceremonies meticulously, not one who leads a good life.

Alexander's expedition to India was more of a raid than a conquest. He received the submission of several of the petty kings, who were appointed as his satraps or governors, and he left garrisons in some of the cities. Soon after the withdrawal of Alexander's main army, an able adventurer, Chandragupta, united several of the tribes of northern India, drove out the Macedonian representatives and soon brought a large part of the country under his control. His grandson, Asoka, most revered of all Indian rulers, ruled over practically all of India. He became a full-fledged member of the Buddhist order and, abandoning warfare, devoted himself to improving conditions among the lower classes by social and economic reforms, and to spreading the Buddhist religion. He is largely responsible for the spread of Buddhism throughout Asia. After his death his empire soon collapsed and India was again broken up into petty kingdoms subject to periodic invasions from the north.

India, like China, with vast territories including great differences in soil and climate, had a great variety of valuable products. Some indirect trade between India and the west was probably carried on from very early times, Indian products being mentioned by several early Greek writers. Alexander's conquest of northern India (327 B. C.) brought India and her products more definitely to the knowledge of the west. When Roman power was at its height a large fleet of vessels made annual voyages to India, bringing back rich cargoes, which were distributed by boat and caravan to all parts of the empire. From the time of the Mohammedan conquests in the latter part of the seventh century down to the sixteenth century a considerable overland trade was carried on in Indian products. Direct trade with western Europe dates from the memorable voyage of Vasco da Gama (1498).

The story of how Portugal monopolized the Indian trade for a century, to be later displaced by France and England, will be told in a later chapter.

ARABIA—MOHAMMEDANISM

We have already spoken of the nomadic mode of life and of the importance in history of the clash between nomads and settled peoples in various parts of the world. Arabia, a land of desert sprinkled with fertile spots, was from prehistoric times a homeland of nomad peoples. Chaldeans, Babylonians, Phoenicians and Hebrews were all originally nomads of this region who conquered settled peoples and settled down themselves, giving up their nomadic habits. Although the tribes of Arabia who remained nomads, commonly called Saracens or Bedouins, fought each other most of the time, there was among them a loose semi-religious league with its center in Mecca. For a short time each year a truce was declared and the tribes came together in Mecca for a festival and fair.

It was here in Mecca that Mohammed, the founder of another of the world's great religions, was born about 570 A. D. Mohammed was the servant of a rich widow engaged in the caravan trade, whom he later married. When he was about forty he began to recite verses, which he claimed to have had revealed to him by an angel, asserting that there was but one true god and Mohammed was his prophet. Starting with his wife and a few intimate friends, he soon gained a considerable following in Mecca. Many of the influential men of the town, whose prosperity depended on keeping up the old tribal religion which brought many pilgrims to Mecca, did not like Mohammed's teaching that there was but one true god and forced him to flee to the neighboring city of Medina. Mohammedans, or Moslems as they are usually called, date the beginning of their era from this flight or hegira, the year one of the Mohammedan calendar being the year 622 of the Christian era.

Mohammed's teachings were copied down and make up the Koran, the Mohammedan bible. There were many Jews

and Christians in Arabia and Mohammedanism shows many traces of their influence. The Koran teaches that there is a day of judgment when the wicked shall be condemned to eternal punishment and the good, especially those who have died fighting for Mohammedanism, shall be admitted to a heaven of eternal happiness. It emphasizes the importance of bravery, righteousness and kindliness, and the fact that all Mohammedans are equal. It recognizes Jesus and the prophets of the old testament as true prophets, all inferior, however, to Mohammed. It prescribes no elaborate ceremonies and no priesthood.

Mohammed's flight to Medina resulted in a war between Medina and Mecca in which Medina was finally successful. Gradually Mohammed spread his power over all Arabia. He taught that it was the duty of all good Mohammedans to spread his doctrines by the sword, and after his death the caliphs, as his successors were called, carried on conquests that spread the Mohammedan religion and Arab rule from northern India through Turkestan, Persia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, northern Africa and Spain to the boundaries of France. We have already mentioned the defeat of the Moslems at Tours by Charles Martel in 732 and their later expulsion from Spain. With the growth of power the caliphs inevitably became worldly and corrupt. Dissensions arose among the leaders, several claiming to be the true caliph. Gradually the outlying portions of the empire became independent states, retaining, however, the Mohammedan religion and the Arabic culture.

The Arab mind was keen and as in the course of its wide conquests it came into contact with different civilizations,—Greek, Roman, Jewish, Indian and Chinese,—it absorbed them and moulded them into an Arabic culture that rivaled that of Greece in its golden age. The Arabs had a literature rich in history and poetry as well as in imaginative fiction. Universities in several centers, notably Bagdad, Cairo and Cordova, attracted students from all over the world. In science they went far beyond the Greeks, developing algebra and spherical

trigonometry and making important progress in physics, astronomy and chemistry. In medicine they studied physiology and hygiene, understood anaesthetics and performed difficult operations. In manufacture, particularly in textiles and metals, they reached a high degree of skill, their steel weapons and armor being famous all over Europe. They made paper of fine quality, an art they probably learned from the Chinese. They practiced scientific farming, producing new varieties of fruits and flowers, using artificial fertilizers and irrigation. The influence of the Arab culture on western Europe, mainly through the contacts made in Spain and Sicily, was great, greater than has usually been recognized.

THE MONGOLIAN NOMADS

The vast plains stretching northeast from the Black and Caspian seas to the Arctic Circle have been for untold centuries the home of nomad peoples. From the southern part of this region came the tribes that overthrew the Roman Empire. To the north and east of these Teutonic nomads were numerous other tribes of the Mongolian race. We know practically nothing of the age-long goings and comings of these tribes,—Huns, Mongols, Tartars,—of their wars, their amalgamations and divisions. From time to time some of them, crowded out by overpopulation or fleeing before the attack of stronger tribes, have left their native plains and migrated into the territories of other peoples whose history they have profoundly influenced.

These were the tribes that harassed the borders of China until the great wall was built to keep them out. Many of the southern tribes amalgamated with the Chinese; others were driven by the ever-expanding Chinese Empire to take up migrations westward. From here came the Huns who ravaged the Roman Empire. From here came the Letts, the Esthonians and the Finns of western Europe. We must remember that all these tribes spent centuries in their wanderings, intermarrying with other tribes and peoples, continually picking up new customs, so that by the time they finally

settled down they were as much white as Mongolian.

Sometime, probably about the beginning of the Christian era, several of these tribes migrated into Turkestan, where many of their descendants still live. For centuries there was a gradual mingling of the Turks, as the people of Turkestan came to be called, with their neighbors to the south and west. Many of the Turks were employed as mercenaries in the armies of the Sassanid emperors of Mesopotamia and other rulers of Asia Minor. From Turkestan migrated the Magyars and Bulgars to harry the borders of Europe, and finally settle in Hungary and Bulgaria. In the eleventh century one of the Turkish tribes, the Seljuks, already converted to Mohammedanism, migrated westward. They easily overcame the various rulers among whom the Moslem empire had been divided and set themselves as protectors of the Caliph at Bagdad. This conquest meant a strengthening of Mohammedanism and the military power of Islam, but it overwhelmed the already decaying Arabian culture. After Seljuk princes had ruled Asia Minor for two centuries they were in turn overthrown by more warlike nomads from the north.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century there arose among the Mongol tribes who roamed over the region northwest of China a remarkable leader, Jengis Khan. After consolidating his power among the tribes, he started out on a career of conquest such as the world has never seen before or since. At his death his empire stretched from the Pacific to the Persian Gulf and the Black Sea, including northern China, Turkestan, Persia and Armenia. His successors continued his conquests. Kublai Khan completed the conquest of China and became one of China's most famous emperors, starting the Mongol dynasty in 1280. Another group swept over Russia and Poland and then turned south into Hungary and Roumania. They soon withdrew, but Russia had to pay tribute to the Khan of the Golden Horde for nearly two centuries. Still another group, a particularly ruthless and bloodthirsty one, pushed south, conquering Bagdad and the Seljuks in Syria. The entire population of Bagdad was massacred and

the irrigation system which for thousands of years, under rulers of many different nationalities, had supported a large population was destroyed.

The Mongol Empire was short-lived. It never had an organized system of administration; it was a personal government maintained by a highly efficient army, collecting tribute from conquered peoples. After the death of Jengis there were really several emperors over all of whom a Great Khan had nominal power. By the end of the thirteenth century even the nominal power of the Great Khan had disappeared, and all of the Mongol governments were crumbling.

The Ottoman Turks, a tribe related to the Seljuks, who had been driven from Turkestan by the first invasions of Jengis Khan, gradually superseded the Mongols as rulers of Asia Minor. These Ottoman Turks are the founders of the modern Turkish nation. About the middle of the fourteenth century they crossed the Dardanelles to Europe, overran the Balkan peninsula, and for centuries made periodic attacks on the boundaries of Austria and Hungary. The territory of the Eastern Roman Empire was gradually cut down, and in 1453 Constantinople fell. The next century Egypt and a large part of northern Africa was brought under their control.

In the fourteenth century there was a brief revival among the Mongols of Turkestan under the leadership of Timur the Lame or Timurlane, a direct descendant of Jengis Khan. For a time he had under his control most of the lands from the Caspian to India. He seems to have been a particularly bloodthirsty individual, expressing his artistic emotions by pyramids of human skulls, a single one being reported to contain 70,000. One of his descendants, Baber, established the Mongol or Mogul dynasty in India (about 1525). The greatest of these Mogul emperors was Akbar who, besides extensive conquests, united the country and established a system of administration and taxation such as India had never before had. The English, who were the direct successors of the Mogul emperors, have preserved many of the features of Akbar's government to the present day.

Jengis Khan and his successors were barbarians, inferior in everything but military strength to the peoples they conquered. They were, however, great carriers of the cultures with which they came in contact. Their conquests broke down the barriers between Europe and Asia and helped bring about closer relations between East and West.

WORLD TIME TABLE

5000 B. C.-1525 A. D.

	Western Europe	*Near East*	*Far East*
5000 B. C.		Beginnings of civilization in Nile and Tigris-Euphrates valleys.	Beginnings of civilization in China (?)
		Calendar invented, Egypt, 4241.	
4000 B. C.		Egyptian alphabet.	Beginnings of Dravidian civilization in India (?)
	An advanced civilization appears in islands of Aegean, and in Crete. c 3500 (borrowed from Egypt?)	Sumerian Empire established in Mesopotamia, c 3500.	
3000 B. C.		Building of the Pyramids, c 3000-2500.	First Chinese Emperors, 2800.
		Akkadeans conquer Sumerians, c 2750.	
		First Babylonian Empire, Hammurabi, 2100.	
2000 B. C.	Northern nomads invade Greece.		"Aryans" come to India.
		Egyptian Empire foreign conquests, 1580-1150.	
	Height of Cretan civilization, c 1500.	Phoenecians build up Mediterranean trade, c 1500.	
	Homeric Age, c 1200.	Hebrews occupy Palestine, 1400-1200.	Chou dynasty established, 1122. High degree of civilization in China.
		Assyrian Empire, 1100.	

	Western Europe	*Near East*	*Far East*
1000 B. C.			
	Rome founded 753 (?).		
		Chaldean Empire, 606.	
		Nebuchadnezzar conquers Jerusalem, 586.	Buddha, Lao Tze, Confucius, 600-500.
		Persian Empire, 529.	
500 B. C.	Persian Wars, 492-479.		
	Pericles and Golden Age of Greece, 460-430.		
	Final Defeat of Athens by Sparta, 404.		
	Philip conquers Greece, 338.	Conquests of Alexander, 338-323.	Alexander conquers northern India, 327.
		Hellenistic Age — Alexander's Empire broken up—spread of Greek civilization and its modification by Orient, c 300-100.	
	Rome mistress of Italy, 272.		Asoka's Indian Empire, 264.
		Rome conquers western Asia, 190.	
	Rome conquers Greece, 150.		Han Dynasty in China, 206 B. C.-220 A. D. Great artistic development.
	Augustus establishes Empire, 27.		

	Western Europe	*Near East*	*Far East*
1 A. D.		Birth of Christ.	
	Roman Empire reaches greatest extent under Trajan, 117.	Sassanid Persian Empire, 227.	
	Christianity tolerated, 313.	Constantinople founded as eastern capital, 328.	
	Goths defeat Romans at Adrianople, 378.		
	"Fall of Rome," 476.		
500 A. D.			
	"Dark Ages."	Justinian, 527-565, codifies Roman law.	Tang dynasty (618-907), China's golden age of art and literature.
		Mohammed's flight to Medina, 622.	
	Battle of Tours, 732.	Height of Arab civilization, c 700.	
		Mohammedan conquests, 622-750.	
	Charlemagne crowned Emperor, 800.	Mohammedan Empire breaks up, 750-1000.	
	Alfred the Great (England), 871-901.		Sung dynasty in China, 960-1279.
	Otto crowned Holy Roman Emperor, 962.		
	Capetian dynasty established in France, 987.		Mohammedan conquest of India, 977.

	Western Europe	*Near East*	*Far East*
1000 A. D.	First Crusade proclaimed, 1095.	Seljuk Turks conquer eastern Asia, 1075.	
	University of Paris founded c 1200.		
	Magna Charta, 1215.		
	Church at height of power under Pope Innocent III, 1197-1216.		
	Dante, 1264-1321.	Conquests of Mongols under Jengis Khan and his successors, 1214-1280.	Mongol dynasty in China, 1280-1368.
	One Hundred Years War, 1338-1453.	Turkish Empire established by Ottomans, c 1300.	Timurlane establishes empire in India, c 1400.
		Ottomans capture Constantinople, 1453.	Ming dynasty in China, 1368-1644.
			Vasco da Gama reaches India, 1498.
	Beginning of Protestant Revolt in Germany, 1517.		Mogul Empire in India, 1525.

("c" before a date means the date is uncertain or approximate)

CHAPTER VI

The Development of Trade and the Commercial Revolution

DECLINE OF TRADE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

A history of the world might be written around the history of trade. Trade has been one of the main factors in raising man from primitive savagery to his present state of civilization. Trade has brought people of widely separated parts of the world into contact, making culture and science universal. It was trade that aroused Europe from the lethargy of the Middle Ages, that ushered in the Renaissance, that sent Europeans through uncharted seas to unknown parts of the earth, carrying with them their language, their customs, and their culture, as well as their products; making European civilization the civilization of a large part of mankind. Today it is trade, domestic and international, on which most of our prosperity depends. Trade has also, unfortunately, been the cause of many destructive wars, and trade rivalry, uncontrolled by any international government, is still a menace to the peace of the world.

Trade was a powerful factor in holding together the diverse and widely separated peoples that made up the Roman Empire. Products were exchanged from all parts of the empire, from Britain to Persia, being transported over the solidly built and well kept Roman roads. With the coming of the Germans, however, all except local trade gradually slackened and finally died out almost entirely. The obstacles to trade in the early Middle Ages were innumerable. There was little demand for the luxuries of the east among the rough Germans. No new roads were built and the old ones were left un-

repaired until they became impassable. Money was scarce and there was no uniformity of coins, since each feudal lord had the right to coin his own. Each petty noble claimed the right to collect toll for crossing his territory. Robbers by land and pirates by sea added to the dangers. Even with the growth of towns the foreign merchant found himself obstructed by the numerous rules of the merchant and craft guilds, designed to give their own members a monopoly of the town's trade. Foreigners had to secure a license and pay taxes; they were required to sell only in the open market and on special days—and a foreigner was anyone not a resident of the town.

In spite of all these impediments, trade gradually revived. Some of the Italian cities had kept up some little intercourse with the rest of the Mediterranean world all through the dark ages, and in the tenth century, Amalfi, Bari, Taranto, and a little later Venice, Genoa and Pisa were carrying on a considerable commerce with the east. Interest in the east was greatly stimulated in the thirteenth century by the account of his travels written by Marco Polo, a Venetian merchant who had spent twenty years in China. He had been well received by the Chinese emperor and had been given positions of importance in the government. He told a story of great commercial activity and immense wealth in China, Japan and India. At about the same time Europe was gaining new knowledge of the Near East through the Crusades.

THE CRUSADES

We have already mentioned that in the course of their conquests the Moslems had conquered Turkestan and that in the eleventh century, the Seljuks, who had made themselves supreme over the other Turkish tribes, started out on a career of conquest. They not only mastered the Caliph at Bagdad and the other Moslem states in Syria and Arabia, but soon swept into Asia Minor, defeated the army of the eastern emperor and occupied the fortress of Nicea, just across from Constantinople (1071).

The emperor sent a message to the people at Rome asking

for help. The situation was made more serious in the eyes of the Pope and of Christendom in general by the fact that Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of the Seljuks. The Moslems had occupied Jerusalem soon after the death of Mohammed, but as they respected the places associated with the life of Jesus, they had not interfered with the Christian worship. Now, however, stories of mistreatment at the hands of the Seljuks were being brought back by pilgrims. Urban II, who was pope at the time, saw an opportunity to make Christians forget their internal strife by uniting them in one lofty purpose. He also hoped that he might increase the influence of the Roman church in the east at the expense of the Byzantine emperor. Accordingly, at Clermont in 1095, he issued a call to all Christians to unite in a crusade to free the sepulchre of Jesus from the infidels.

Urban proclaimed that taking part in the crusade would constitute penance for all sin, that the crusader, if he died repentant, would be sure of entrance into heaven. He freed all debtors from payment of interest on their debts while they were on the crusade, and promised that the wives, children and property of crusaders would be under the special protection of the church. Even without these special inducements the crusades appealed to widely different classes of people; to the merchant who saw an opportunity to build up business connections; to the ambitious noble who hoped to win new territory over which he might rule; to the criminal who wished to escape punishment; to the restless adventurer who wished to see the world and escape boredom. Besides all these, there were great masses of plain people aroused to a high pitch of enthusiasm in their devout desire to further Christianity.

In 1096, a motley crowd, made up of peasants, artisans, vagabonds, runaway serfs, beggars, women and children, started for the Holy Land. They had no organization and were unprepared for a long journey. Some of them were slaughtered by the Hungarians on the way; a few of them reached Asia Minor only to be slaughtered there by the Turks.

The next year, and at intervals for nearly two centuries, better organized forces went out under the leadership of powerful nobles. Kings of England and France and an emperor of the Holy Roman Empire led later crusades. We have not the space to tell in detail here of the crusades themselves, of the quarrels of the crusaders with each other and with the eastern emperor, of the principalities set up by the crusaders in Syria, or of how Jerusalem was captured, to be lost, recaptured, and finally lost again. After awhile the crusades lost their first romantic appeal and the last ones were perfunctory expeditions, made to avoid the Pope's displeasure or for purely selfish reasons. In spite of all the sordid and selfish elements, the crusaders, uniting as they did all races and lands of Christendom, are an example of large scale popular cooperation never before witnessed in history. They show the power of the Christian church and especially that of the Pope over the minds of the people of the time.

Although the crusades did much to arouse the people of the west to a knowledge of, and interest in, the east, it would be a mistake to suppose that all the influence which the east had on the west resulted from them. The west was in touch with the east through Constantinople and through the Saracens in Spain and Sicily long before the crusades. There had been, too, considerable trade with the east, but the crusades greatly stimulated it. Thousands of crusaders had been brought into contact with the advanced civilization of the Asiatic Greeks and the Arabs, and had acquired thereby a taste for eastern luxuries. Merchants of the Italian cities, especially of Venice and Genoa, had made money by carrying crusaders and had gained many new trading posts in Syria and Asia Minor. The supremacy in trade which they won at this time was to last over two hundred years, with the trade expanding and growing more valuable all the time.

REVIVAL OF TRADE WITH THE EAST

One of the most important products that the west got from the east was paper. Before the introduction of paper

all books had to be written on parchment, animal skins prepared by a slow and costly process, which made them very expensive. The art of paper making came by way of the Arabs from China. Good paper was not made in Europe before the close of the thirteenth century. Paper, no less than printing, made possible a revival of interest in books and the spread of education. Among the products of the east which Europe did not produce were cane sugar, precious stones, alum, pepper, and other spices. Because of the shortage of hay, most of the cattle, sheep and pigs which provided Europe's winter meat had to be killed in the fall and kept through the winter. Spices were therefore in great demand to preserve this meat and to make semi-spoiled meat more palatable. Besides these raw materials there were many sorts of manufactured goods available in the east which the west only slowly learned to imitate; rugs, tapestries, fine linens and cottons, silks, satins, steel weapons and armor, glasses, porcelains, pottery and "china-ware." In exchange for these products the west sent leathers, wool and woolens, tin, copper, lead and coral. Since the east had so much greater a variety of goods and goods of greater value, there was nearly always a balance to be paid by the west in money, which rapidly exhausted the supply of gold and silver.

Until the end of the fifteenth century most of the trade was in the hands of the Italian cities. Venice and Genoa sent out great fleets with war galleys to protect them from pirates. Venice had ambassadors in most of the important cities of Europe and eastern Asia and made treaties and carried on wars as a nation does today. Merchants from Venice, Genoa, Pisa and Florence carried western goods to the eastern Mediterranean or up into the Black Sea, where they met Mohammedan merchants with goods from China, India and the Spice Islands. There were three main routes by which goods from the Far East were brought to the ports frequented by the Italian merchants; one by boat from India and the Spice Islands across the Indian Ocean and up the Red Sea and then across the isthmus of Suez by caravan, another by caravan

from the head of the Persian Gulf up the Tigris valley and across the desert to ports on the eastern Mediterranean, the third by various caravan routes all the way from India and China to the Black Sea.

From northern Italy the goods were sent over the Alps by pack horses, or by way of the Rhone and Rhine rivers in boats to northern Europe. Bruges, Antwerp, and other cities of the Netherlands, and the cities of northern Germany were the distributing points for goods in the north and became prosperous through this trade. Since there were no international governments to protect them, the cities banded together to protect their merchants against pirates and to maintain foreign trading ports. The Hanseatic League, a combination of about seventy German cities, the most important of which were Lubeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Cologne and Brunswick, monopolized the commerce of the Baltic and North Seas throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Besides carrying on an extensive trade with the Italian cities in eastern and Italian goods, at first by land routes but later by sea, they carried Russian and Scandinavian lumber, tar, wax, fish and furs to England and France, bringing back in exchange grains, woolens, wines and beer. They established headquarters in London, Stockholm, Novgorod, Venice and other centers.

THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION

The long caravan journey across the deserts of Asia had always been slow, difficult and expensive, but in the fourteenth century the difficulties were increased by the coming of the Ottoman Turks into Asia Minor. The Ottomans were a tribe related to the Seljuks who had overrun the Moslem Empire four centuries before. Driven from their home in Turkestan by the raids of Jengis Khan, they came into western Asia just as the Seljuk empire, weakened by success and broken into small principalities, was crumbling. Settling in Asia Minor, they gradually spread across the Bosporus into Europe, occupying most of the Balkan peninsula, narrowing

the Eastern Empire down to Constantinople itself. For years they maintained friendly relations with the emperor, but finally in 1453 under their able leader, Mohammed II, they took Constantinople. Mohammed's successors within the next century spread the Ottoman Empire down through Syria to Bagdad and Egypt and, in Europe, through Hungary almost to Vienna. These Ottomans were a rough warlike people just out of nomadism and they had little use for traders. When they did not rob the caravans and kill the traders, they levied heavy taxes. Since they controlled the western ends of the two northern caravan routes and later the south also, they made trade much more difficult and prices higher.

It is doubtful, however, if the conquests of the Turks constituted the main reason for the search for new routes. This search had begun, in fact, before the Turks took Constantinople, and more than a generation before they gained control of Syria and Egypt. The growing interest in geography, a phase of the general revival that was taking place in Europe, the desire to break the monopoly of the Italian cities, and the need for an all water route which, though longer, would be cheaper than those where cargoes had to be transferred from ship to caravan, were more important reasons than the obstacles caused by the Turks in leading Portuguese and Spanish sailors to seek out a new route to India.

Although the common people of the fifteenth century had the most fantastic ideas in regard to the nature and shape of the earth, such as, for instance, that it was flat and that one would sail off the edge if he went far enough, or that the distant waters boiled and were full of dragons and other strange monsters, these ideas were not held by educated people. There was then, as there has been at all times in history and still is today, a great gap between what scientists knew and what common people believed. The belief which Columbus acted upon, that the earth was a sphere and that one might reach the east by sailing toward the west, had been held by Aristotle in the fourth century before Christ. Ptolemy, the great geographer of Alexandria of the second century A. D.,

taught that the earth was round and the idea had been preserved by the Mohammedans. In the fifteenth century several new editions of Ptolemy's geography appeared, so that the idea that the earth was round was generally held by geographers and educated people.

In addition to the increased geographical knowledge several practical inventions made it easier for fifteenth century navigators to make long ocean voyages far from land. Sailing vessels of larger tonnage and more seaworthy than the oar-driven galleys of the Mediterranean were coming into use. The compass, probably first invented by the Chinese, had been used by Italian sailors in the thirteenth century. This, with the astrolabe, a device for finding lattitude, enabled sailors to hold their course and know their position even far from land. Even with all these inventions, it took a bold spirit to start out to prove the contentions of the geographers that the earth was round.

The first seamen to start the search for a new route to India were the Portuguese, and Portugal was the first national government to encourage exploration. All through the first half of the fifteenth century Prince Henry the Navigator, with the encouragement and financial help of the Portuguese kings, was bringing together learned geographers and skilled sailors and sending expeditions down the coast of Africa. The Madeira and Azore Islands were discovered and in 1445 Cape Verde was reached, but it was not until 1488, long after the death of Prince Henry, that they reached the Cape of Good Hope. At last in 1497 Vasco da Gama sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, arrived in India in 1498 and returned to Lisbon in 1499 with a cargo of spices worth sixty times the cost of the voyage. This was the doom of the prosperity of the Italian cities and the beginning of Portugal's brief commercial supremacy.

Meanwhile another great discovery had been made. We are all familiar with the story of Columbus, the Genoese sailor. We know how, after vainly trying to interest people in his scheme of reaching the Indies by sailing westward, he finally

persuaded Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain to advance the money for the expedition. We know how he, with his three little ships, sailed westward in spite of failing food and threatened mutiny, and how at last he reached San Salvador, one of the Bahama Islands in the West Indies. We know of his later explorations, of his failure to reach India, and of how he finally died disappointed, without knowing that he had discovered a new continent.

In one sense neither the exploit of da Gama nor that of Columbus were discoveries, since the ancients had known the route around Africa and the Northmen had been in America at least four hundred years before Columbus. The real importance of these voyages was that they brought these new lands and routes definitely to the knowledge of Europe so that they became a part of European life.

This discovery of the route around Africa to India, together with the discovery of America and the consequent exploration and trade settlement, we call the Commercial Revolution. It was a revolution because it changed European commerce from a Baltic and Mediterranean coasting trade to a world wide trade. It transferred the whole European outlook from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, making the Atlantic countries preëminent. It was a change which profoundly affected the economic, social and political life of Europe.

In 1493 the Pope, in recognition of the discoveries of Spain and Portugal, issued a bull dividing the uncivilized parts of the world between these two countries, giving to Spain all territories west and to Portugal all territories east of a line drawn from pole to pole, at first 100 leagues west of the Azores, but later shifted to 360 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. This gave to Portugal, Africa, the East Indies and the eastern half of Brazil, and all the rest of the western continent to Spain. Although the other nations, when they found time to take an interest in the new lands, paid no attention to this line, Spain and Portugal enjoyed practically a monopoly of the new commerce for a century.

England based her later claims to all of North America on the discovery by John Cabot, an Italian sailing with a charter from the English king, of the mainland of North America in 1497. France based her claim to part of the new world on the voyages of Verrazano (1524) and Cartier (1534) along the coast of North America and down the St. Lawrence river. Neither of these countries followed up these voyages immediately, however, and it was Spain that explored a large part of the new world and made the first permanent settlements. It was a Spaniard, Balboa, who by discovering the Pacific Ocean in 1513 proved that America was a new continent and not an outlying portion of Asia. Magellan, another Spaniard, started from Spain in 1519, sailed around South America and across the Pacific to the Philippine Islands, where he was killed by the natives, but one of his ships continued on across the Indian Ocean and around Africa, arriving in Spain in 1522, thus settling once for all the question as to the shape and size of the earth. By the middle of the sixteenth century Spain, thanks to a host of other explorers and conquerors—Ponce de Leon, Coronado, Cortez, Pizarro—had settlements in and ruled over Cuba, Porto Rico and other small islands in the West Indies, South America, except Brazil, Central America and Mexico, and had outposts in what is now the southwestern part of the United States. From the gold and silver mines of Peru and Mexico, wealth poured back to Spain, making her by far the most powerful nation in sixteenth century Europe.

It was not only in colonial affairs that Spain was great, but in European affairs as well. Ferdinand and Isabella had by their marriage united the two powerful states of Castile and Granada and later extended their power over all the Spanish peninsula except Portugal. They also ruled Sardinia and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Their daughter married the son of Maximilian I, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and king of Austria, who by marriage was also ruler of Burgundy and the Netherlands. Charles V, grandson of Maximilian and of Ferdinand and Isabella inherited their territories and

in 1519 was elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. He ruled a territory that in extent and wealth eclipsed anything since the days of the Roman Empire. His reign, however, was anything but peaceful, for Francis I, king of France, was jealous of his power and fought him during a large part of his reign, and the Protestant revolt, of which we shall speak later, divided and distracted his dominions. In 1555, worn out by his strenuous career, Charles divided his dominions between his brother Ferdinand and his son Philip, and retired. Ferdinand received the Austrian dominions and the title of emperor and Philip received Spain and the Netherlands, the Sicilies and the American colonies.

Philip II, handsome, able, industrious and ambitious, freed from the responsibility of the German states which had so troubled his father, seemed destined to have a glorious reign. As it turned out, his reign was a succession of disasters, and the greatness of Spain became a memory even before his death in 1598. The causes of his failure were political, economic and religious. There was but little trade and manufacture in Spain. The Moors and Jews who had conducted industry and trade were persecuted and finally expelled to satisfy Philip's desire for religious uniformity. With few manufactures which could be sold to the colonies, the mines worked by slave labor were the main source of wealth to the mother country. The income from the mines went, not to the government, but to the private individuals, usually nobles, who had established colonies under grants from the king. The nobles spent this income largely on luxuries instead of investing it in productive enterprises to make more money. High taxes were necessary in order to keep up Philip's various military enterprises, and since the nobles were largely exempt from taxation, the taxes fell with crushing force on the peasants and what few traders there were.

The high taxes which Philip levied on the Netherlands, together with his attempt to make them accept Spanish instead of native governors, and his efforts to stamp out Protestantism, caused them to revolt. After fifteen years of bloody and

destructive fighting, the northern part of the Netherlands, modern Holland, practically gained its independence in 1581, although Spain refused to recognize the loss of her most prosperous possession until 1648. In the course of the war with the Netherlands, Philip annexed the kingdom of Portugal (1580), closing her ports to Dutch ships and also to those of England and France, since they were aiding the Netherlands. Being thus cut off from her best customers and subjected to heavy taxes, Portugal soon lost most of her trade with the east.

Philip's devotion to Catholicism got him into trouble with England. He had married Mary Tudor, who enforced Catholicism as the state religion, but when Mary died without children her sister Elizabeth came to the throne and established Protestantism. After Philip's offer of marriage had been refused by Elizabeth he instigated several plots to overthrow her and set up a Catholic ruler. Nothing came of these plots except bitter feeling between Spain and England, which was increased by Elizabeth's aid to the rebels in the Netherlands. Matters were brought to a head by conflicts over trade in the West Indies. Spain, like all other nations of the time, practiced the mercantilist policy of excluding all other countries from trade with her colonies. In spite of Spain's laws English merchants smuggled goods, especially slaves, into the Spanish colonies with cargoes of gold and silver. These English sailors were not members of the British navy; they were private citizens attacking the commerce of a nation with whom their country was at peace. Today they would be considered pirates, but Elizabeth tolerated and even encouraged them. Philip resolved on one last great effort which would end the attacks on Spanish commerce and incidentally put a Catholic ruler on the throne of England. In 1588 a great fleet, the "invincible armada," set sail for England. Philip had counted on the support of English Catholics to aid him in his enterprise, but Catholics and Protestants united to repel the invaders, and, thanks to the skillful seamanship of the English sailors and an opportune storm, the armada was defeated and

almost totally destroyed. The failure of the Spanish armada marks the beginning of English supremacy on the sea and the end of Spain's preëminence in Europe.

Until the annexation of Portugal to Spain in 1580, Portugal had enjoyed a practical monopoly of the eastern trade, her cheaper freight rates having ruined the Italian cities. She had established colonies and trading posts at various points in India and the Spice Islands. The Dutch had coöperated with Portugal in this trade, receiving eastern goods at Lisbon, distributing them to northern Europe and bringing back herring and other products of the North in return. When they found the ports of Portugal closed to them, they sent their own ships on to India and the Spice Islands. They soon took over most of the Portuguese trade and established trading posts and colonies in the Spice Islands, which they still hold today. Although their long struggle with Spain cost them dearly in men and money, their later freedom from Spanish taxes enabled their commerce to grow. Throughout the seventeenth century they were the leading commercial nation of Europe, having a great carrying trade between European ports and between Europe and America, as well as their eastern trade. Holland, however, remained a small nation, weak from a military point of view, and was eclipsed by England and France once they became interested in securing trade for themselves.

Although England had exported and imported an ever increasing amount of goods from the thirteenth century on, her trade was at first carried on almost entirely by foreigners. The Tudors (1485-1603), under whom a strong national spirit developed, were the first to take steps to put England's trade in the hands of Englishmen. Henry VII and Henry VIII made treaties with various countries securing the right of English merchants to enter those countries, and at the same time put obstacles in the way of foreign merchants and foreign ships coming to England. As the sixteenth century progressed, more and more English ships were seen in the ports of the

Baltic, of the Netherlands, of Portugal and of the eastern Mediterranean. It was in the time of Queen Elizabeth, however, that England came to be a real power on the sea.

We have already mentioned the piratical seamen of Elizabeth's time whose attacks on Spanish trade had led Philip II to send the armada against England. Prominent among them was John Hawkins, who did a flourishing business in slaves, kidnapping negroes on the coast of Africa and selling them to the Spanish colonies in the West Indies contrary to the laws of Spain. Another free booter who made himself a favorite with Elizabeth and many of her officials by dividing with them the spoils of raids on the Spanish settlements and Spanish treasure ships was Francis Drake. Drake, in 1577, sailed around South America to attack the Spanish settlements on the Pacific coast, and having lost all but one of his ships and being pursued by the Spanish, sailed on across the Pacific and around Africa back to England, thus completing the second voyage around the earth known to history. Other Elizabethan seamen devoted themselves to equally spectacular if less lawless expeditions, risking their lives and spending fortunes searching for a northwest passage to India around North America. The names of some of these brave explorers are preserved in the names of Frobisher Bay, Davis Strait, Hudson Bay and Baffin Bay.

The interest in trade that existed in Elizabeth's time is indicated by the number of companies of merchants that received charters granting them a monopoly of trade with different foreign countries. Among them were the Baltic Company for trade with the Baltic, the Barbary Company for trade with northern Africa, the Guinea Company for trade with western Africa, the Muscovy Company for trade with Russia, the Levant Company for trade with the eastern Mediterranean, and just at the close of Elizabeth's reign in 1600, the East India Company, which was destined to be the greatest of them all. Englishmen soon found that with the mercantilist policy of excluding foreigners from colonial trade

enforced against them by other countries it was necessary for England to have colonies of her own if she wished to become a really great trading nation.

The first attempts at colonization were those made by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland in 1583 and Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia in 1585, both of which ended in failure. In 1607 a group of London merchants organized as the London Company financed an expedition to make a settlement at Jamestown, Virginia. After years of hardship and disappointment, this settlement grew into the colony of Virginia, England's first successful colony in America. In 1620 a group of Puritans, called Pilgrims from their wanderings in search of religious freedom, settled at Plymouth. Eight years later a much larger group of Puritans made a settlement at Massachusetts Bay which developed rapidly into the thriving colony of Massachusetts. Maryland was founded by Lord Baltimore in 1632, partly as a refuge for Catholics. Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maine and New Hampshire were settled largely by emigrants from Massachusetts. New York, originally settled by the Dutch was seized by the English in 1664. The Carolinas were granted to a group of noblemen who sent out settlers in 1663. In 1681 William Penn founded Pennsylvania, hoping to make it a refuge for Quakers as well as to make money by the sale of land granted to him by the king.

During the seventeenth century there was a great deal of poverty in England. Under the antiquated methods of farming still in general use, the soil was gradually becoming exhausted. Many farmers, unable to make a living on their small farms, abandoned them and crowded into the towns. Since machinery had not yet been invented, work was scarce in the towns and many welcomed the opportunity to get land free or for a nominal price in America. The religious and political troubles of the century were an added inducement to many to emigrate, so that by 1688 there were nearly three hundred thousand settlers in the English colonies in America.

Wherever Englishmen went in their search for trade they found the Dutch before them and conflicts arose. In 1651

England passed her first Navigation Act, providing that goods from America, Asia or Africa could be brought into England only in ships owned and manned by Englishmen and that goods from other European countries must be brought either in English ships or in ships of the country that produced them. This was meant to be, and was, a severe blow at the Dutch, whose ships carried goods from all parts of the world, being able to give cheaper freight rates than the English because of their excellent seamanship and well built vessels. The Dutch refused to recognize the act and war resulted. After several severe but indecisive naval battles the Dutch agreed to abide by the law. A still more stringent Navigation Act in 1660 helped to bring on a second war in 1664, and after a long struggle without any great advantage to either side, Holland gave up New Amsterdam and posts on the mainland of India, while England gave up her claim to ports in the Spice Islands. After this mutual limitation of trade areas the two nations got along amicably, their common Protestantism tending to unite them against the growing aggressiveness of Catholic France.

We have already told of the long struggle of the kings against the great nobles for the unity of France, a struggle which was finally settled in the king's favor at about the beginning of the sixteenth century. All through the sixteenth century while Spain and Portugal were building up their trade supremacy and losing it to the Dutch, France was engrossed in wars between Catholics and Protestants and wars with the Spanish and Austrian Hapsburgs to round out her possessions. These wars left France heavily in debt, her agriculture and industry disorganized, and the royal power threatened by the great nobles. It seemed as if France had lost almost all that she had gained in the previous centuries. That France was able in the next hundred years to become the most powerful country in Europe was due mainly to the efforts of a succession of unusually able men; Henry IV (1589-1610) with his minister, Sully, and Richelieu and Mazarin, ministers and practically rulers from 1624-1661. These men built up agri-

culture, industry and trade, developed new forms of taxation and collected the taxes, strengthened the army and navy, suppressed disorders, put down rebellious nobles, centralized the government and strengthened the king's power. By interfering at the critical time in the Thirty Years War, Mazarin weakened France's rivals, the Spanish and Austrian Hapsburgs, and acquired Alsace. Thanks to their work and a group of able ministers of his own, Louis XIV, who ruled from 1643-1715, was able to make his reign famous in the history of France and the world, not only for his absolute government and the luxury and extravagance of his court, but for the literature and art which flourished under his patronage and for the commanding position which France held in the affairs of Europe.

Busy with wars, civil and foreign, throughout the sixteenth century, France had paid but little attention to exploration or foreign trade, except for an occasional expedition as a challenge to the supremacy of Spain. Henry IV, in 1604, realized the importance of trade and chartered the French East India Company, but the early expeditions to India were unsuccessful. In his reign also a trading post was established at Port Royal in Nova Scotia (1605) which was the first permanent settlement in North America. Champlain explored the St. Lawrence River valley and founded Quebec (1608) and Montreal (1611). It was under Colbert, Louis IV's great minister of finance, however, that France first really began to rival Holland and England for a place in the world's trade. Colbert was especially interested in foreign trade and encouraged it in every possible way, by taxes on foreign ships, by protective tariffs, bounties and subsidies. He strengthened France's navy and encouraged the formation of colonies in India, America and the West Indies. France's attempt to become a great commercial power brought her into conflict with the Dutch and was largely responsible for the war with the Dutch in 1672. Her colonial ambitions also brought her into conflict with England, but the story of the long struggle for colonial empires will be told in a later chapter.

We have now outlined briefly the development of trade from its first beginnings in the Italian city states of the tenth century down to the founding of the great colonial empires and the struggle between England and France for colonial supremacy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We have considered the effects of the Crusades in increasing trade; we have seen how this trade brought great prosperity to the Italian cities and the cities of northern Germany; we have seen how the conquests of the Turks and the renewed interest in exploration led to the discovery of new routes; we have seen how these new routes ended the commercial power of the Italian and German cities and led to the supremacy of Portugal and Spain; how Portugal was superseded by Holland, and how finally England and France rose to dispute with Holland and each other for a share in this trade. We must now stop to consider some of the effects of trade on the life of the peoples of Europe.

EFFECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE

In considering the effects of the development of trade we must remember that we are considering a period of nearly seven hundred years—from about 1000 to 1700 A. D. Trade developed slowly, and only gradually spread to different parts of Europe. Its effects therefore did not come all at once or at the same time in different countries. We must also keep in mind that other forces than the growth of trade were at work in Europe during these centuries helping to bring about the changes that took place.

The growth of trade affected directly the everyday life of the people—the food they ate and the clothes they wore, the furnishings of their homes and their occupations. Instead of being dependent on the products of his own immediate locality, the wealthy man might enjoy the product of the entire earth. Even the poor man found his daily fare diversified and improved by the new products. Tea, coffee, cocoa, cane sugar, tobacco, potatoes and rice were a few of the new food stuffs and luxuries that in time came into common use in Europe.

The standard of living and the standard of knowledge were raised. The contact with other peoples was instrumental in bringing on the intellectual revival which we call the Renaissance.

Agriculture was not only changed by the introduction of new crops, but the whole system of agricultural labor was transformed. As we can readily see, serfdom, being partly forced labor, was an inefficient system. The serf when working on the lord's land would do only as much as he was compelled to do. For centuries there was little inducement for the lords to look for a more efficient system or for the peasants to till their own plots in a more efficient way, since there was no market for any surplus over their own needs that they might produce. As long as they got enough to eat and enough clothes to wear, why worry about producing a surplus? With the growth of trade and the development of towns, however, there was a market for surplus agricultural products. Townspeople began to devote more of their time to manufacture and less to agriculture, depending for their food and their raw materials on the surplus of the neighboring manors. Certain agricultural products such as hides, wool, wine and wheat were in demand for export, and eastern luxuries and town made clothing and furnishings could be had in exchange. The lords found that they could get more out of their land by allowing the peasants to pay them rent in money or products instead of requiring them to perform services in return for their land. They therefore started to emancipate the serfs, either renting out their domain lands or working them with laborers to whom they paid wages. Thus they secured labor which was more willing and which could be discharged if it became inefficient. The peasants at the same time benefited by having more time to work on their own land to produce articles which they might sell or to work for wages. The more common use of money which came with the growth of trade, hastening the change from serfdom to free labor. The supply of gold and silver which came from America was an important factor, making the process of exchange easier and

greatly facilitating trade as well as making money wages more common.

Another factor that acted along with the growtn or trade to abolish serfdom, and perhaps had an even greater influence in finally extinguishing it was the exhaustion of the soil. We have already mentioned this; the decreasing return from the land and the consequent need for a more efficient system of agriculture was one of the causes of change from slavery to serfdom in the later days of the Roman Empire. The exhaustion of the newer lands in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries again called for a more efficient system of cultivation and helped to replace serfdom with free labor. Continuous cultivation of the land without sufficient manure to maintain its fertility, without the use of clover or other nitrogen gathering plants, without the use of artificial fertilizers, caused exhaustion of the soil in spite of the land being allowed to lie fallow every third or second year. This showed itself in continually decreasing crops until many pieces of land no longer yielded a crop sufficient to pay for them. Many peasants abandoned their holdings. Landlords who could not get enough return from the domain lands to pay for the meals they had to furnish the serfs while working them, freed the serfs and turned their lands into sheep pastures.

In England in the fifteenth century there were many such enclosures, that is, fencing in of land for sheep pastures. Besides the domain lands of the lords, the common land and the peasants' strips, whether abandoned or not, were often enclosed also. The condition of the evicted peasants was miserable, and a great wave of protest went up against the greed of the landlords, but it is probable that the miserable condition of the peasantry had existed previously as a result of the decreased fertility of the soil and that enclosures were usually of exhausted land already partially, if not entirely, abandoned. The enclosures were attempts on the part of the lords to get some return from the exhausted lands. As we know, the peasants had their holdings not in compact areas but in small strips scattered over several fields. If some of

these strips had been abandoned and others were still occupied, the lord would have to evict what tenants were left in order to get a large enough area to make fencing profitable. This of course made matters worse for the peasants, whose standard of life had already been reduced. It was not until the use of grass seed which enabled the farmer to raise hay enough to keep stock enough to produce manure enough to keep up the fertility of the fields and a system of rotation of root and grain crops followed by several seasons of hay were introduced that cultivation of the land became profitable again in many parts of England. This introduction of grass seed and the consequent change of pasture land back to tilled land, which occurred in the seventeenth century, is sometimes called the agricultural revolution.

These two causes, then, acting together—the exhaustion of the soil making it difficult to produce surplus products coming just at the time that increasing trade made an active demand for them—were mainly responsible for the decline of serfdom. We must remember that just as serfdom grew up gradually, so it disappeared. It was not abolished all at once by any law or decree. Serfdom started to die out in France in the thirteenth century, but there were some serfs left at the time of the French Revolution, at the close of the eighteenth century. There were many other local and temporary causes that aided in its decline. Among them was the Black Death, a terrible epidemic of, probably, the bubonic plague, that swept over Europe in the middle of the fourteenth century, killing millions of people. Many English towns and villages lost more than half of their population. The death of so many peasants in England, particularly, resulted in a shortage of agricultural labor and many serfs ran away from their manors to others where they could get land on better terms. To keep the serfs on the manor many landlords "commuted" their services, allowing them to make a money payment for their land instead of requiring the former services.

With the abolition of serfdom, the former serfs, where the land was not exhausted and turned into pasture, usually con-

tinued to till their holdings, paying rent in money for their holdings. When grass seed and artificial fertilizer came into use, making it possible to build up the fertility of the land, an exchange of strips usually took place, making it possible for each peasant to have his farm in one compact piece, although the old system of scattered strips still exists in parts of Europe. The lord's land was either worked by hired labor or broken up into small farms and rented. In France the small farm was the rule, and gradually by purchase or by uprisings, especially during the French Revolution (1789), the peasants came to own their farms, so that French agriculture today is carried on mainly by farmers who own their own small farms. In England, as we have noted, many large estates were turned into pastures and later put back into cultivation. When cultivation was restored it was usually in large farms worked by hired laborers. The typical agricultural unit in England today, therefore, is not the small farm owned by the man who works it, but the large farm leased by the owner to a farmer for money rent. The farmer superintends the work on the farm, which is done mainly by hired laborers.

The growth of trade greatly increased manufacture by increasing the demand for manufactured goods to be exported in exchange for foreign goods. When in time, in many industries, manufacture in quantity for the foreign market became more important than the old custom work for the local market, it became more complicated to secure raw materials and to dispose of the finished product. The master workman usually did not have sufficient capital to carry on an export business or to import his material in large quantities. The guilds might have performed these services, but they were conservative and unwilling or unable to keep pace with the needs of the industry. Accordingly there arose in many industries a capitalist, or entrepreneur, as the economists call him. In the woolen industry, for example, the capitalist bought the raw wool and furnished it to the spinners who spun it into yarn in their homes, receiving fixed wages for their labor. The capitalist then either sold the yarn to

another capitalist or gave it out to weavers who wove it into cloth for fixed wages, either on their own looms or looms furnished by the capitalist. When the cloth was completed, the capitalist disposed of it. So we see two new classes appearing in industry: the capitalist who took no part in the actual work of the manufacture or its supervision, but furnished the capital and disposed of the finished product, keeping as his profit the difference between the cost of the raw material plus the workmen's wages and the selling price; and the workingman who worked for wages and had no part in buying the material or selling the product. This is called the domestic system as distinguished from the guild system, in which the master workman was workman, foreman and capitalist combined. There was more capital involved in the domestic system, but the term capitalist system is applied to that in vogue after the introduction of factories, when capital became much more important.

The rise of the domestic system meant the end of the guilds, although they persisted in some industries until the invention of machinery took manufacture to the factories. The guilds were not suited to the new system of manufacture. Their restrictions became burdensome and they gradually disappeared. Some new industries which developed, such as the manufacture of silks and cotton goods, never came under the control of guilds at all. As trade grew, changes in industry continued, slowly but steadily. New methods which would increase production were sought. It was this desire for increased production to meet the demands of the foreign market that was, in a large measure, responsible for the invention of machinery that ushered in the great change which we call the industrial revolution.

The capitalist who invested money to purchase raw materials to be manufactured by hired labor was only one type of the new class which trade brought into existence,—the middle class or bourgeoisie (i.e., townsmen, from *bourg*, town). Before the rise of trade, wealth had consisted almost entirely of land, and the land owners, nobles and

clergy had controlled the destinies of Europe. Trade brought with it a new form of wealth and the owners of this new wealth—merchants, ship owners, bankers, capitalists—began to assert the power which wealth gave them. This new class, ever increasing in numbers and influence, was destined in time to wrest power from the landholding nobility and become the ruling class in every civilized country.

One of the most important of the new middle class groups was the bankers. In the Middle Ages the charging of interest for the use of money (usury) was considered wrong and was prohibited by the church. Money lending was left almost entirely to the Jews, who often charged high rates of interest, a fact which helps to explain the unpopularity of Jews throughout Europe. Most of the borrowing in medieval times was done by kings or nobles to meet the expenses of wars or other emergencies, but with the growth of trade it became customary for merchants to borrow in order to buy cargoes of goods, repaying the loan when the cargo was disposed of. Since this borrowing was for the purpose of making more money and not for consumption, the prejudice against taking interest died out and Christians went into the business of lending money.

As trade developed these money lenders expanded their activities until they performed most of the functions of a modern bank. They received deposits for safe keeping, paying interest on them and lending them out again at higher rates of interest. Since each king and often each feudal lord has his own system of coinage, money changing, the buying and selling of coins of different countries, became an important business. A little later banks began issuing paper money secured by the deposits which they held or the wealth which they controlled. In time the great banking houses established branches in most of the important centers of trade, thereby making it possible by the buying and selling of bills of exchange to settle accounts in distant countries without shipping money. By the middle of the sixteenth century credit had become so important a feature of trade and of

national finance that bankers were able not only to control business but often to dictate national policy, a power which they have held right up to the present time.

The first great bankers were the Italians. The famous Medici family, which ruled the city of Florence at the height of its glory in the fifteenth century, founded its fortune on money lending and the three golden balls which formed a part of its coat of arms is still the conventional sign for a pawn shop. Later, as trade spread to the Germans and Dutch, prominent families of bankers arose among these people and by the sixteenth century every commercial nation had its own bankers. As banking grew in importance governments found it necessary to regulate the business and in many cases governments became partners in the great national banks. In 1694 the Bank of England was chartered, a group of men receiving the right to do a general banking business in return for a loan of 1,200,000 pounds, the government binding itself to pay 100,000 pounds annually in interest, but not being obliged to pay the principal until it wished to. This bank acted and still acts as financial agent for the English government, receiving its deposits, making its payments and handling its loans. In addition to the government business, the bank, having its capital secured by the government loan and being able to count on regular interest payments from the government, enjoyed great public confidence and built up an immense private business. It is today one of the most powerful financial institutions in the world.

Closely connected with banking was the insurance business. At first it was customary for an importer to borrow a sum of money to outfit a ship and purchase a cargo with the understanding that the sum, plus interest and plus a premium to pay for the risk should be paid back on the safe arrival and disposal of the cargo. From this the modern method of insurance developed in which the insurer does not advance any money, but assumes the risk in return for the payment of a premium.

We have spoken of exploring and trading expeditions being

sent out by Spain, Portugal, England and France, but it must not be thought that the governments instituted or financed these expeditions. Sometimes they did, as, for instance, when Ferdinand and Isabella financed Columbus' voyage. The customary way, however, was for the government to grant a charter to a private individual or company, giving them a right to trade with a certain region or the right to occupy territory to which the government might have some claim. The company also usually received a monopoly of the trade and was allowed to keep all others out. This cost the government nothing and might lead to trade which would benefit the whole country, or to additions of territory.

The earliest type of company was the regulated company, in which each merchant carried on his business independently, paying his own expenses and keeping his own profits, but sharing in the expense of building forts and maintaining fleets to protect the property of all members. Each merchant was bound by the common rules and received the protection guaranteed to all members. Later the joint stock company became the common type, in which the business was carried on as a unit, with each member contributing to the common capital and sharing in the profits according to his investment. The English East India Company started as a regulated company but was later changed to a joint stock company. These joint stock companies enabled people who took no direct part in the business of the company to invest their money in trading or colonial enterprises. It was the beginning of a capitalist class as distinguished from a merchant class. The stock of these companies was bought and sold on exchange, speculation in stocks became common and the stock broker was added to the list of occupations which made up the bourgeoisie. The joint stock company was the direct forerunner of the corporation which plays so important a part in the business world today.

Besides their business activities, the companies were often allowed by their charter to perform many functions of government in the territory assigned to them. They made laws

for their colonies or allowed the colonists to make laws for themselves, held courts, levied taxes, controlled the natives, raised armies to protect themselves and fight foreigners. The East India Company governed India until 1858, when Parliament took over its governmental functions. The first English government set up in America was that of the London Company at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. The present state governments of many of the states of the United States developed from colonial governments which originated in governments by chartered companies.

The rise of the bourgeoisie, which came in time to dominate the governments as well as the economic life of Europe, was not the only effect which trade had on the development of the nations of Europe. It might be said to have created those nations, for it was trade more than anything else that strengthened the power of the kings and built up the national spirit that made possible the nations of Europe as we know them today. Protection was a prime essential for the merchant trading with a distant country; protection from natives in the colony, protection from robbers on land and from pirates on the sea. We have seen how the Italian city states gave this protection to their citizens and how the German cities banded together in the Hanseatic League to protect one another. When citizens of those countries where a national government was already in process of formation started to trade, they turned to those national governments for protection. They became allies of the king in his struggle against the great nobles and in return the king favored them and granted them the protection they sought. It was the bourgeoisie that made possible the absolute governments of the eighteenth century and it was the bourgeoisie who later turned against these absolute monarchs and stripped them of their power.

The wealth of the merchants and bankers was a new source of taxation and loans for the king. Kings were able by these new taxes to raise and pay national armies and were no longer dependent on feudal levies who placed allegiance to

their immediate lord before that to the king. Kings were able by these new taxes to make use of the recently invented gunpowder and artillery, against which armored knights and walled castles were helpless. Gold and silver money from the new world made easier national taxation and the building up of national armaments. The great lords were gradually reduced to impotence. They no longer led mighty armies fighting each other and defying the king, but turned to the luxuries and extravagances of the court, where they vied with each other for the privilege of serving the king's breakfast or drying him after his bath. Their titles and their privileges over the peasantry were the only traces left of their former glory.

The growth of trade materially helped to develop national feeling. As we have already said, throughout the Middle Ages national feeling was unknown. People's loyalties were local. They thought of themselves as subjects of a local lord, not of a national king. As different countries began to compete for trade, merchants began to need help, not only against robbers and pirates, but against traders of other nations. It was not enough that their nation be powerful, but it must be more powerful than other nations. They came to see that as their nation prospered and grew powerful they themselves would prosper. They thus came to identify themselves with their nation. They began to think of themselves as Spaniards and Englishmen and Frenchmen. A feeling of national loyalty developed, still tinged, however, with the feudal idea of loyalty to a person. They were loyal to their king, the symbol of their country.

With this development of national feeling and strengthening of national governments there grew up in Europe an economic practice, later elaborated into a doctrine, which we have already referred to, called mercantilism. It is difficult to define mercantilism, since mercantilist practice differed at different times and in different countries. Its main principle, however, was that a nation's prosperity depended on the

amount of gold and silver within her borders and that in order to get as large a supply as possible the government should regulate down to the minutest detail all trade and industry. With this end in view, nations attempted to encourage foreign trade and to regulate it so that exports should exceed imports and the balance should be paid in money. Since there was more demand for manufactures than for agricultural products, manufactures were encouraged at the expense of agriculture. Since money paid to foreigners for carrying goods drained money out of the country each nation tried to build up its merchant marine. Since colonies were looked upon as existing merely for the sake of the mother country, all others nations were excluded from colonial trade. This policy of monopolizing colonial trade led to a struggle for colonies which kept Europe at war throughout a large part of the eighteenth century, but we shall leave the story of this colonial rivalry until after we have examined some of the other important developments of this period.

At the beginning of this chapter we said that trade had been one of the most important factors in the development of civilization. A summary of the effects of the development of trade on the life of the people of Europe will justify this view. Trade was instrumental in bringing about the general intellectual revival that took place in Europe from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. The new products and new industries introduced by trade affected the mode of life of all European people. Trade helped to destroy serfdom. Trade destroyed the guilds and brought the capitalist into manufacture. Trade brought into existence a new class—merchants, bankers, stock-brokers, capitalists—the bourgeoisie, destined to become the ruling class in every country of Europe. Trade developed national feeling, increased the power of the king and made possible the national states that exist today. Trade led to colonization and the spreading of European civilization all over the earth. Trade led to national rivalry and war, profoundly affecting the foreign policy of every country of Europe.

IMPORTANT DATES IN DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE

About 950 Italian cities renew trade with East.
1095 First Crusade proclaimed.
1295 Marco Polo returns from China.
1492 Columbus discovers America.
1498 Vasco da Gama reaches India via Cape of Good Hope.
1499-1580 Portugal leading commercial nation.
1588 Spain loses sea power by defeat of Armada.
1581-1664 Dutch supreme in trade.
1600 British East India Co. chartered.
1607 First permanent English settlement in America at Jamestown.
1651 First English Navigation Act.
1664 England wins New York from Dutch.
1686-1763 Struggle between England and France for trade supremacy.

CHAPTER VII

The Renaissance

Out of the chaos and confusion of the Middle Ages modern Europe gradually emerged. The period of transition from medieval to modern times is called the Renaissance or rebirth. This name was originally given to the renewed interest in Greek and Roman culture which started in the Italian city states about the middle of the fourteenth century. This was but a small phase, however, of a much broader movement that affected all of Europe. It is impossible to date this broader Renaissance, because it was not a sudden change but a slow gradual development. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the revival of trade, the growth of towns, the founding of universities, and the flowering of Gothic architecture in the great cathedrals built by the coöperation of all the people of large districts standing today as monuments to the religious zeal and artistic power of the Middle Ages.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw a further development of all these phenomena and of others which were the natural consequences of them,—the expansion of trade leading to discovery and exploration and to fundamental changes in agriculture and industry, the decay of feudalism and the beginnings of national states, the growth of the spirit of scientific progress and invention, the reforming spirit in religion and morals,—in general the development of a new attitude toward life, the birth of the questioning, curious and adventuresome spirit. Various features of this broader Renaissance, especially the development of trade and its effects, the rise of national states, religious change and the growth of a new scientific spirit we have treated elsewhere. Here we

are concerned with the narrower or Italian Renaissance in literature and art which was partly a result and partly a cause of this broader movement.

As we have seen, it was the city states of northern Italy that first developed the eastern trade. These city states, wealthy and influential centers of trade,—Florence, Venice, Genoa, Milan,—at first republican, though not democratic, developed into tyrannies or despotisms, and their fortunes were guided by a few enormously wealthy families like the Borgia, Sforza and Medici. City governments lavished their wealth on the construction of beautiful churches and buildings, equipped with the luxuries of the east. Wealthy merchants became the patrons of art and literature and vied with one another in their efforts to beautify their homes and towns. Here it was that architects, sculptors and painters found their genius in demand and amply rewarded. It was, therefore, natural that the Renaissance of art and literature should first develop and reach the heights in the city states of northern Italy, and thence spread throughout Europe.

In describing the broad outlines of this literary and artistic Renaissance we shall find it more profitable to concentrate on a few of the important names rather than to attempt to catalogue them all.

THE LITERARY RENAISSANCE

There are two important phases of the literary Renaissance: (1) The increasing use of the mother tongue in an effort to reach the general public instead of a few scholars; in other words the development of a national language and literature. (2) A revived interest in the literature of Greece and Rome involving a new interest in the life, thought and ideals of the ancient peoples. The immortal Dante illustrates the first tendency and Petrarch the second.

Dante Alighieri, scholar, scientist, philosopher, and above all a poet, was born at Florence in 1265 and died at Ravena in 1321. His life and his spirit, properly speaking, belong to the Middle Ages, yet like Roger Bacon he stands at the

dawn of a new era. Unlike most of the scholars of his day, he was not a monk but a layman. He held office in his native city, but political misfortune overtook him, and he was forced to spend the later years of his life in exile. He wrote numerous works: *The Banquet, A Treatise on Science, On Monarchy,* in which he expresses his views on government; numerous sonnets, and most important of all his *Divine Comedy.* Dante, although he knew and could write Latin, chose to write his immortal poem in the Italian language, and in making this selection he was following a growing tendency among writers to use their native tongue rather than the archaic Latin. He thus helped to fix the Italian language, and his great success encouraged others to address themselves to the multitude rather than to a limited few. Consequently he gave impetus to one of the outstanding features of the Renaissance, the development of a national literature.

The *Divine Comedy,* in which he describes an imaginary journey through Hell, Purgatory and Heaven, expresses in the most exquisite poetry the spirit of the Middle Ages. It has been referred to as the handbook of all that "the Middle Ages did and felt and feared and prayed for." In his wanderings he is guided by Virgil, the great epic poet of Rome, and he meets Aristotle, Plato, Socrates, Caesar and other great personages of the ancient world. His knowledge of their history and writings should be sufficient to dispel the popular but erroneous belief that the Middle Ages were a period of darkness, intellectual stagnation, and ignorance. His reference to the ancient writers of Greece and Rome bespeaks a profound love and admiration for them. It is this respect for all the pagan writers of antiquity, as they were called, instead of the narrow but absorbing respect for Aristotle, typical of Scholastics, which makes Dante the harbinger of a new era which can literally be called The Renaissance, or "Rebirth." From the fourteenth century there developed not merely a new knowledge of Greek and Roman literature but a new attitude toward it, a love, a respect and veneration for it. In this development the monasteries played an important part. It

was also furthered by the transfer to western Europeans of the culture that had been kept alive in Moorish Spain.

If Dante heralded a new interest in the writers of antiquity, Francesco Petrarca championed the cause and definitely shaped the direction of the new learning. Petrarch, born in 1304, was renowned as a lyric poet. He came under the spell of the early Latin writers and devoted his long career to collecting, editing, correcting the various manuscripts and in fostering and promoting a love for them among the scholars of his day. His fame spread beyond the Alps, and he was in correspondence with the scholars of all western Europe. Petrarch suggested that the literature of Rome should form the basis of instruction at the universities instead of the customary studies of logic, theology and Aristotle. At a time when Scholasticism was in decline, Petrarch became the apostle of Humanism, as the devotion to the literature of antiquity was called. It is derived from the Latin word *humanitas*, which means culture; and inasmuch as culture was to be achieved through the study of Greek and Roman writings they were called the Humanities, a name still applied to them. The impetus imparted to Humanism by Petrarch gained strength and momentum in the following centuries and secured such a strong hold upon educational methods that even today many people believe that a knowledge of Latin and Greek is absolutely essential for a liberal and cultural education. Humanism supplanted Scholasticism, and with its ascendency the medieval outlook upon life gave way to the modern. Medieval thought, as we have seen, was primarily concerned with the salvation of one's soul, and consequently it was circumscribed in its activity and direction by its close connection with religion and the church. It had little concern with the beauties or the laws of nature; its science was a mixture of magic and superstition. The study of the world of nature was not considered either important or desirable, and so was neglected. Moreover the authority exercised by the church and its claim to direct men's thoughts coupled with the fact that the scholars of the Middle Ages were

churchmen, also helps to explain why in the field of natural science practically no progress was made during the Middle Ages. Humanism served, therefore, an important purpose in directing man's attention to the world about him; its spirit ultimately led to the discovery of nature's secrets; it helped overthrow the extreme claim of the church to control the sum of human knowledge. But Humanism was also carried to excess. It was essentially a backward looking movement, and the intense love for the writers of antiquity led to an imitation of their vices as well as their virtues. In the field of literature, it degenerated into a mere formalism, insisting upon the exact imitation of not only the words but even the thought of the ancients.

The spread of the cult of Humanism was abetted by the introduction of paper into general use in western Europe and the invention of printing from moveable type. The origins of both are indefinite and obscure. Paper came into western Europe probably from China through the Moors of Spain and was in use in the thirteenth century; by the fourteenth century it was abundant and cheap. The invention of printing is commonly ascribed to Gutenberg, a German, in the middle of the fifteenth century, though it is doubtful if others are not equally entitled to share the honor of its invention. Printing was quite common by the end of the fifteenth century. There should be no need to comment on the vast importance of the general use of printing and paper. Wealthy patrons of the Renaissance collected magnificent libraries. Some of the Popes were enamored of the movement and aided the literary Renaissance by the establishment of the Vatican Library, still one of the most important book collections in the world. Books became cheaper and abundant; they were more accurate; they helped to fix and establish the growing national literature.

Another force that aided Humanism was the re-introduction of Greek among the scholars of Europe, which of course opened up the treasures of Hellenic culture to the western world. For centuries, as we have seen, Latin was the chief

vehicle of thought and expression. Greek and the culture of Greece were forgotten. Petrarch in the fourteenth century, great scholar that he was, did not know Greek. We have already mentioned that the scholastic philosophers were familiar with the writings of Aristotle not in the original Greek but in Latin translations that had been made from the Arabic. But toward the end of the fourteenth century the University of Florence employed a Greek, Chrysolaurus, to teach that subject to its students. Early in the fifteenth century, due to the influence of Chrysolaurus and others, a knowledge of Greek became part of the equipment of a Renaissance scholar. It was formerly believed that a first hand knowledge of Greek and Greek literature was not common in Europe before the capture of Constantinople in 1453, but now it is well established that for several generations before that event Greek and Greek writings were becoming well known to Europeans.

From Italy the Renaissance spread northward until all Europe shared in the intellectual awakening. Dante and Petrarch were forerunners of the movement. Its full vigor is reached in the career of Desiderius Erasmus, born in Rotterdam in the Netherlands in 1466. Erasmus became an international figure. He lectured and taught in England, France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland. He was in constant correspondence with other eminent scholars and was favored with the friendship of kings and Popes,—Henry VIII of England, Francis I of France, Charles of Germany, and Pope Leo X. His fame and reputation were universal and his writings exercised a profound influence upon the thought of the time. He was preëminently a Humanist, devoting himself particularly to the study of Greek. He edited numerous editions of Greek and Latin authors and prepared Latin and Greek grammars and text books and several books on education. He was an indefatigable writer and few men have published more or seen their books so widely disseminated during their lifetime. One of his most important works was the editing of the original Greek of the New Testament, accompanied with the Latin translation, which served to bring to the attention

of scholars, and particularly the theologians of the day, some inaccuracies in the Latin translations.

Erasmus was a monk and was therefore naturally interested in the condition of the church. His keen mind realized that the abuses in the church betrayed an unhealthy condition which, unless remedied, would lead to open revolt. He used his pen mercilessly, exposing ignorance and corruption wherever they existed, flaying with biting sarcasm and ridicule unwholesome practices. In his most celebrated book, *The Praise of Folly,* and also in the *Colloquies,* he fearlessly attacked church and monastery, priest and king, morals and theology, hoping that by disclosing the errors, superstitions and prejudices of the time, he could awaken interest in reform. Particularly did he ridicule the reliance upon the performance of mere outward acts, such as pilgrimages and almsgiving, as evidence of real religious fervor and sanctity. Unless accompanied by a real inward faith, and a real desire to lead a holy and religious life, such acts, he contended, were useless and served as a cloak for hypocrisy. Erasmus thus illustrates an humanistic tendency toward moral and religious reform.

Many humanists shared the religious views of Erasmus and championed his cause; chief among them was his friend Thomas More, of England, author of *Utopia,* in which he pictures an ideal commonwealth of peace and happiness (hence our word Utopian). More was ultimately beheaded by King Henry VIII for refusal to accept the changes he introduced in Christian doctrine. Other humanists actively supported the cause of Luther and the critical and reforming spirit of the humanists of the Renaissance did much to prepare the ground for Luther's work.

THE ARTISTIC RENAISSANCE

Accompanying and influenced by the intellectual Renaissance was the artistic Renaissance, which manifested itself in various fields including architecture, sculpture, painting and music. Except in the domain of architecture, there

was little artistic development throughout the Middle Ages, largely because rigid rules hampered the expression of the emotional and artistic spirit and tended to cramp it within a definite mould. In Italy, where Gothic architecture had not been common, the natural tendency was to imitate the Greek and Roman models. Consequently stately columns, the round arch instead of the pointed arch so characteristic of the Gothic architecture, became the vogue. Another characteristic of Renaissance architecture was the use of the vaulted dome for the roofs of churches, so beautifully illustrated in St. Peter's in Rome.

To adorn the buildings the services of the sculptor and painter were added to those of the architect. Indeed many of the masters of Renaissance art, like Michelangelo, and da Vinci, excelled in all three fields of activity. In painting, colors were mixed with water and the artist usually pictured scenes from the Bible upon the fresh plaster of chapel, church and cathedral. This is called fresco painting. Somewhat later, colors were mixed with oil and oil paintings on wood and canvas became a feature of Renaissance art. The sculptors imitated in bas-relief and statues the models of Greece and Rome. Renaissance sculpture and painting are life-like; the figures are not stiff. Perspective and shading were introduced in painting; that is, all the figures and details of the scene are not presented as being in the foreground but are outlined in their true relation to each other, so that the beholder is struck with the natural life-like character of the scene.

It would be useless and would add little to our ability to appreciate the beauty, charm and dignity of Renaissance art to mention in detail the famous artists and their paintings. Many of their scenes are familiar to us, although we may not recognize them as belonging to the Renaissance period, for they have been copied to adorn school and library, home and office building, museum and church throughout the world. Among the many wonder men of the Renaissance are Leonardo da Vinci, famous as engineer, scientist, painter, sculptor and architect; Michelangelo, renowned as architect, sculptor and

painter, and Raphael, a painter whose subjects evidence wide variety and exquisite grace.

Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) has been called "the world's most universal genius of all time." In science, he seems to have perceived the real nature of fossils, experimented with levers, wheels and axles, suggested that the illumination of the moon was caused by reflection from the earth, mapped and planned canals and harbors, was interested in mathematics and used geometry in developing the theory of perspective in his paintings. But his achievements in science are obscured by his greater fame as a painter. Chief among his paintings are *The Last Supper,* and *Mona Lisa,* two of the world's most celebrated paintings. He spent years in the execution of each. *The Last Supper,* a scene from the Bible representing Christ and his twelve apostles, was painted on the wall of the church at Milan. *Mona Lisa* is the portrait, smiling and enigmatic, of an Italian lady. It was purchased by the king of France for a large sum and placed in the Louvre at Paris, from which it was stolen in 1912.

Michelangelo (1475-1564) is generally considered the greatest of the Renaissance painters and sculptors. For several years he was the architect in charge of the building of St. Peter's at Rome and is credited with having designed the dome. He was commissioned by one of the Popes to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel at Rome. This is his greatest work and represents the Biblical story of man from the creation to the flood. Probably his best known painting is *The Last Judgment,* which was executed on one of the end walls of the Sistine Chapel. In the field of sculpture he executed massive and heroic statues, of which the best known are *Moses* and *David,* the latter recarved from a block which the workmen had spoiled in handling.

Raphael (1483-1520) was unlike da Vinci and Michelangelo in that he devoted himself exclusively to painting. He died at the age of thirty-seven, but in his short life achieved enduring fame as one of the world's great artists.

He devoted himself to a wide range of subjects and is noted for the versatility of his style, beautiful coloring, the charm and wide popular appeal of his paintings. The best known of his paintings are the famous *Sistine Madonna* and *The Transfiguration.*

The artistic Renaissance soon spread beyond the boundaries of Italy and is represented in Spain by Murillo and Velasquez; in Germany by Durer and Holbein, and in the Netherlands by Rubens, Rembrandt and Van Dyck. As the artistic Renaissance spread throughout Europe it developed an important feature which deserves to be especially noted because it illustrates a tendency of the whole Renaissance movement. Medieval art was devoted to the service of religion. Renaissance art, while partly concerned with religion and the beautifying of churches, became secular and was used in the service of cities for bell towers and town halls and in the service of kings and wealthy patrons for palaces, statues and portraits. Italian painting was chiefly religious in character, but ultimately the Renaissance artists north of the Alps broke away from the imitation of their masters both in subject and style, and produced masterpieces of their own. They "tended continually to the delineation not so much of saints and angels as of the characters of scenes about them; and their genius seemed more closely in touch with the living world than with the realm of faith or fancy."

In music the Renaissance period saw the origin of the violin and the piano. With the new instruments music was no longer simply the aid of singing but became an art in itself. Palestrina, a famous organist of the sixteenth century, is commonly considered the first of the modern composers. To him music was the handmaid of religion, and so his compositions were religious hymns and masses. The opera, however, did not develop until the eighteenth century.

The Renaissance was clearly a period of varied activity and a veritable intellectual awakening. Elsewhere a fuller treatment will be given to what may justifiably be called the scien-

tific and political Renaissance. But it should be clear that the medieval outlook upon life, the whole spirit and character of medievalism as expressed in commerce, philosophy, literature, art and science was slowly disappearing and that a new era was dawning.

CHAPTER VIII

The Protestant Revolt

CAUSES

We have described the medieval church at the height of its power in the thirteenth century and have noted the decline both in the prestige of the Pope and the influence of the church in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By 1500, although the Pope had formally surrendered none of his powers, practically they had been considerably limited. It was no longer possible to appoint a person to any high ecclesiastical position if the ruler of the country concerned objected to the appointee. Kings collected revenue from church lands, although the clergy insisted that these payments were gifts, not taxes. Civil courts were trying many cases formerly tried in church courts. England and France, the two strongest national monarchies, had gone even further. England had forbidden appeals from the ecclesiastical courts to Rome, forbidden the Pope to make personal appointments in England and forbidden anyone to give or will property to the church without the consent of the king. France had declared that the Pope might not interfere in the election of bishops or tax the French dioceses.

In spite of these limitations on its power, the church was still a mighty force in Europe, and the Pope was still absolute monarch of the church. Education and organized charity were completely in the hands of the church. It still obtained vast revenues from its properties. Heresy, although not completely extinguished, had been suppressed. The church was still the sole arbiter in spiritual affairs. The kings were jealous of the temporal and economic power of the church, but they had never questioned its spiritual authority. They accepted

the church as their guide in spiritual matters and insisted that their subjects do the same. They cooperated enthusiastically in hunting down heretics. There had been attacks on the church for political reasons and for religious reasons, but until the sixteenth century the two had never been combined. In the sixteenth century they were combined in the movement known as the Reformation, or the Protestant Revolt, which resulted in the repudiation of the Pope's authority throughout most of the states of northern Europe and by large groups in other countries.

Some people think of the Protestant Revolt as a purely religious movement. It was not, in fact, mainly a religious movement, but was one in which political and economic factors played a most important part. Politically it was but a continuation of the old struggle between the kings, now rapidly increasing in power, and the Pope. Protestantism was the religious expression of nationalism. Kings recognized in the wealth and power of the international church a serious obstacle to their claims to absolute rule. In England and France the kings had been able to limit the Pope's power, but in the small German states the rulers were not powerful enough to offer much opposition. When their subjects began to question the religious authority of the Pope, these German rulers eagerly seized the opportunity to break away completely from papal control.

Both kings and people had economic reasons for breaking away from the Papacy. Bishops and abbots had received large tracts of land by becoming lords of weak landholders under the feudal system and also through legacies of those who wished to insure their salvation. As a result of careful cultivation by the monks some of this land was the most fertile and productive in Europe. The kings saw an opportunity, by breaking away from the Pope, to add these lands to their own personal domains. Besides the income from this property the clergy collected taxes, called tithes from the people and received fees for various ceremonies that they performed. Much of this money found its way to Rome.

When a bishop, abbot or priest received his office, he paid the Pope a fee, called an annate, equal to a year's income. The archbishops paid the Pope large fees for their offices. The Pope also received fees from dispensations and indulgences, and on extraordinary occasions, as for example a crusade, he might levy a special tax, called the tenth, on the clergy. The rulers hated to see all this good money going out of their countries. The people, from whom all these taxes and fees had to come in the end, also began to grumble. They were all the more dissatisfied when they saw the extravagance of some of the higher clergy and heard tales of the luxury of the papal court at Rome.

These political and economic factors were not sufficient in themselves to bring about the revolt. The rulers, however much they might have wished to break away from the Pope's control, would not have dared to do so as long as the great mass of people remained convinced of the sanctity of the clergy and the soundness of the church's doctrines. But when they found among the people discontent with the character of the clergy and doubt as to their teachings they seized the opportunity to defy the Pope.

The religious causes of the revolt were of two kinds; dissatisfaction with abuses which had crept into the church, and disbelief in some of its doctrines and practices. At various times in the history of the church corruption had developed. Worldly men had obtained office, from the Papacy down, and used it for their own selfish ends. It was such a period of corruption that called forth the reforms of Pope Gregory VII in the eleventh century and of Innocent III in the thirteenth. It was to remedy the worldliness and low moral tone of the clergy that St. Francis founded the Franciscan order. Abuses became common again in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The seventy years of Babylonian Captivity, when the Popes were kept at Avignon under the control of the French kings, and the subsequent wrangling between rival claimants for the Papacy detracted greatly from the reverence in which the Pope was held. Many Popes of the period, absorbed in

Italian politics, paid more attention to advancing their own interests or their families' fortunes than to their spiritual duties. The worldliness of the head of the church permeated down through the whole body of the clergy. Offices were openly bought and sold. Important positions were held by children of dissolute nobles who made no pretense of carrying out their duties. Some priests were ignorant, inefficient and immoral. It is impossible to tell just how widespread this corruption was. Certainly there was corruption; certainly many, and probably the vast majority, of the clergy were high-minded men; but corruption even in a small minority was sufficient to bring into question the sanctity of the clergy as a whole.

The people's attitude toward religion was changing. This was due partly to the abuses, but probably more to the widening horizon of man's mind which the Renaissance brought about. The other-worldliness of the Middle Ages was dying out. Life in the present was more interesting and claimed more of men's thoughts. Religion, for many, was no longer the all important thing in life but a necessary and somewhat boring phase of it. It was no longer an expression of their inmost feeling but a matter of form to be gone through. The feeling was growing that salvation could be gained by good works—the performance of ceremonies such as making pilgrimages, collecting relics of the saints, giving alms, attending church services.

While the great mass of the people were making their religion more and more a matter of form, a thoughtful minority was growing dissatisfied. As the art of printing developed, more people read the Bible and the writings of the church fathers and became convinced of the emptiness of religion as it was practiced. One of the severest critics of the church in the fourteenth century was the Englishman, John Wyclif, a distinguished scholar, professor at Oxford, priest and popular preacher. Wyclif denounced the worldliness and immorality of the clergy, advocated the seizure of church property by the state and denied that there was any basis

in the scriptures for the Pope's powers. His doctrines were spread by "poor priests" who, scorning all property and supporting themselves by alms went throughout England preaching and encouraging the people to read the English translation of the Bible which had recently been made. Wyclif was forced to resign from Oxford, and after his death the Lollards, as his followers were called, were persecuted out of existence.

Wyclif's doctrines seem to have soon died out in England, but they found a strong champion in John Huss, a professor at the Bohemian University of Prague. Huss denied the authority of the Pope and attacked the immorality of the clergy. He declared that Christians were not bound to obey those who were living in sin. He was summoned before the Council of Constance (1414), and when he refused to recant was burned at the stake in spite of the "safe-conduct" which had been granted him by the Emperor. Huss had been very popular in Bohemia, and his execution led to serious outbreaks which were put down only after much bloodshed.

In spite of the harsh treatment of heretics, criticism of the church was common in Germany throughout the fifteenth century and was growing in volume in the sixteenth. The humanists, especially, deplored the ignorance of many of the clergy, the futile disputes of the theologians over dogma and the dependence of the people on good works alone for their salvation. We have already referred to the work of these educated men, of whom the leader was Erasmus. In his *Praise of Folly* Erasmus relentlessly laid bare the abuses of the church. His remedy was not, however, a revolt from the authority of the Pope but reform which he believed could be brought about through education. Most of the other critics of the church agreed with Erasmus in demanding reform not revolution. It was inevitable, however, that with so much criticism some one would take the next step and declare that reform was impossible, that fundamental change was necessary. The man who did this was Martin Luther.

LUTHER AND THE REVOLT IN GERMANY

Luther, the son of a miner in the Harz mountains, after completing a course in the study of law at the University of Erfurt abandoned his plans for becoming a lawyer and entered an Augustinian monastery. He entered into the life of a monk in such a wholehearted manner that he nearly ruined his health,—carrying out to the letter the rules of the order, fasting for long periods and spending long hours in prayer. But try as he might he could not satisfy himself that he had won salvation. Finally in despair he turned to a rereading of the Bible and the works of St. Augustine and became convinced that no one could attain salvation through good works but only through faith in God. This doctrine that man is a miserable sinner, incapable of good works, whose only hope is to throw himself on God's mercy, is known as "justification by faith" and is the central doctrine of Luther's teaching. As he studied and prayed in the monastery and later, while professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg, Luther worked out the details of the doctrine and began teaching it to his students. He had no idea of attacking the church, but merely wished to bring people back from Aristotle, as expounded by the scholastics, to the doctrine which was, as he believed, laid down in the scriptures and developed by Augustine.

Luther first drew attention to himself through a dispute about indulgences. According to the theory of the church, after a sinner had repented, confessed and been absolved he might still have to suffer certain punishments either on earth or in purgatory to cleanse his soul and prepare it for heaven. An indulgence freed the soul in whole or in part from this punishment. It was granted by the church to either the living or dead. To obtain an indulgence one usually had to perform some special act of prayer or charity and usually contribute money for some religious purpose.

In 1517 Pope Leo X proclaimed an indulgence to raise money to rebuild St. Peter's at Rome and agreed that Albert,

Elector of Brandenburg, should have half the amount collected in his territory in order that he might pay the Pope for confirmation as Archbishop of Mainz, an office to which he had just been elected in addition to those of Archbishop of Magdeburg and Administrator of Halberstadt which he already held. A Dominican monk, Tetzel, was commissioned to preach the indulgence and collect the money in the territories of Albert. Luther believed that claims as to the efficacy of indulgences were being made which were not justified, and accordingly he wrote out ninety-five theses or statements about indulgences which he posted on the church door at Wittenberg. He declared that indulgences were really unimportant, that a contrite sinner should not seek to escape punishment, that "if the Pope releases souls from purgatory for money, why not for charity's sake," and "since the Pope is rich as Croesus why does he not build St. Peter's with his own money, instead of taking that of the poor man?"

Luther wrote the theses in Latin, but they were immediately translated into German. The hearty reception that they received showed the current discontent with the church. Yet even at this time Luther had no idea of a break with the Pope. He was merely attacking an abuse which he believed existed contrary to the rules of the church and the will of the Pope. Two years later, however, he debated the question of indulgences at Leipsic with Eck, a prominent theologian, who skillfully turned the argument into a discussion of the powers of the Pope. Luther declared that the power of the Pope was not instituted in the scriptures and was of recent origin. When Eck pointed out that these views were similar to those of Wyclif and Huss and had been condemned by a church Council, Luther was forced to admit that even a Council might err and declared, "We are all Hussites without knowing it; yet Paul and St. Augustine were good Hussites."

This was an open break with the Pope and the church. Encouraged by some of his friends, Luther proceeded to develop his ideas and became still more radical. In 1520 he published three pamphlets in which he summed up his religious

ideas and appealed to the rulers of the German states to bring about reform, since they could hope for none from the church itself. For his heretical doctrines Luther was excommunicated by the Pope in 1520, but he had won so many friends that the bull of excommunication was not published in many of the states and made little practical difference to him. In 1521 Emperor Charles V summoned him before the diet of the Holy Roman Empire meeting at Worms. Upon his refusal to recant, the diet issued the Edict of Worms declaring Luther to be an outlaw, forbidding anyone to give him food, drink or shelter, requiring everyone to seize him and deliver him to the Emperor, and forbidding anyone to buy, sell, own or read his works. This edict had no more effect than the papal bull had had. Luther remained in hiding for some time under the protection of his friend, the elector of Saxony, devoting himself to the translation of the New Testament into German, a work which is still one of the classics of German literature.

The reaction to Luther's ideas in Germany varied widely with different groups. Many rejected them entirely, looking upon him as the arch heretic of all time. Many others, sincerely religious people, welcomed them as offering a simple explanation of the way of salvation and freedom from the elaborate ceremonies and rules of the church. Still others welcomed them not for their religious significance, but as affording an excuse to attack the authority of the Pope and seize the property of the church. Luther's language was often intemperate and he was frequently embarrassed by the action of his disciples who followed his advice literally or tried to carry his ideas to their logical conclusion. Under the leadership of Carlstadt, one of his colleagues at the University of Wittenberg, monks and nuns left the monasteries, clergymen led mobs in tearing down the images and breaking the stained-glass windows in the churches. Luther came from his hiding place to rebuke them. Although approving in theory of many of their actions he declared that changes must be brought about in an orderly way and by order of the government.

Luther, be it noted, never favored the separation of church and state.

Another group whose zeal embarrassed Luther consisted of the knights whose positions as warriors and rulers of petty territories were, with the decay of feudalism, becoming difficult. They warmly espoused Luther's ideas, inspired not by their religious import but partly by a patriotic desire to free Germany from the control of the Pope and foreign officials and largely by the desire for a good excuse to attack their wealthy neighbors the bishops and abbots. Secular princes joined with the ecclesiastical in suppressing them, since they saw in the knights dangerous rivals for their own powers. The leaders of the movement were killed in battle, and it soon died out.

Luther had preached the essential equality of all men in the eyes of God and had attacked the feudal lords and princes as willing tools of the church in exploiting the peasantry. The peasants took his words literally, and in 1525 throughout the Germanies a great peasant uprising took place. They insisted that since they were the equals of the nobles before God they should not be held in serfdom or forced to pay the burdensome dues. They were joined by groups of radical workers in the towns, some of whom demanded the confiscation of all church property for the benefit of the poor. Churches, monasteries and castles were destroyed. Clergymen and nobles were murdered. Luther's hatred of lawlessness and disorder prevailed over his sympathy for the peasants and he urged the rulers to crush the revolt without mercy. The rulers followed his advice with terrible exactness. Thousands were killed. The condition of the peasants became even worse than before.

Luther had no idea of establishing complete religious freedom as we understand it today. His idea was a state in which the ruler should accept his ideas of religion and enforce it on all his subjects. It was to the rulers that he made his special appeal. In time many of the rulers, especially those of central and northern Germany, set up Lutheranism as the state

religion. If they had not done so the Protestant Revolt as we know it would never have occurred. Luther would have been but the leader of a secret sect doomed to persecution and ultimate oblivion. The rulers accepted Lutheranism partly, perhaps, because they were convinced of its soundness, partly because their subjects favored it, but largely because it gave them an opportunity to stop the flow of gold to Rome, to seize the church lands, and to get rid of the Pope and his officials, whom they looked upon as dangerous rivals to their absolute powers.

The authorities of the Holy Roman Empire made various attempts to settle the religious question. At the Diet of Speyer in 1526 it was agreed that each ruler should decide what form of religion his territory should have. To another diet in 1529 the emperor sent an order that no one should preach against the mass or be prevented from attending it. Since this would mean practically a reestablishment of Catholicism, a group of rulers who had accepted Lutheranism drew up a protest declaring that this order was in violation of the ruling of the Diet of Speyer. From this protest the name "Protestant" originated. In 1530 the Emperor ordered the Protestants to draw up a statement of their beliefs to be presented to the diet in the hope of arriving at some compromise. The statement, known as the Augsburg Confession, still exists as the creed of the Lutheran Church. The Catholics, however, were unwilling to make any concessions and the situation remained unchanged. A league of Catholic rulers and another of Protestants was formed and desultory fighting with some organized warfare went on for several years. While these were nominally religious wars, they were for the most part really caused by the desire of the rulers to strengthen themselves at the expense of their neighbors. Finally in 1555 the general Peace of Augsburg was made, which provided: (1) That each prince or ruler directly under the emperor should decide whether Catholicism or Lutheranism should prevail in his territories: (2) That everyone who did not accept the established religion of his state should emigrate; (3) That any

ecclesiastical prince who turned Protestant must surrender his possessions to the church.

THE REVOLT IN SWITZERLAND AND FRANCE

While these events were taking place in Germany another branch of Protestantism was developing in Switzerland. At Zurich, Zwingli, a well educated priest, began to attack abuses in the church before Luther was known outside of Wittenberg. He gradually developed a doctrine similar to that of Luther, the main difference being in their conceptions of the mass or Lord's supper. Catholics believe in the doctrine of transubstantiation, that is, that the bread and wine of the mass are actually changed into the body and blood of Christ. Luther denied transubstantiation but believed that Christ was really present in the bread and wine. Zwingli maintained that the bread and wine were but symbols. Under the influence of Zwingli's teachings Zurich withdrew from the Catholic church. Some of the cantons objected and a civil war ensued in which Zwingli was killed. His work was carried on by Calvin.

Calvin was born at Noyon, France, in 1509, and was educated for the priesthood. Early in life he became interested in Luther's ideas, and for his bold attacks on the church was forced to flee from France. He found a refuge in Switzerland where in 1536 he published *The Institutes of the Christian Religion,* a statement of his religious views which constituted the first complete exposition of Protestant beliefs. In 1541 he went to Geneva, where he was given the task of reforming the city government and drew up a constitution in which church and state were closely united. He ruled supreme in both religious and political affairs in Geneva until his death in 1564.

Calvin took his religion most seriously. He lived a life of stern simplicity and insisted that others do the same. At Geneva he tried to suppress all festivals, dancing and the theatre and to regulate what citizens should wear and what they should eat and drink. The fact that amusements were

amusements was enough to condemn them in Calvin's eyes since they interfered with the chief end of man, "to know and do the will of God." He was the spiritual and intellectual father of the modern Puritan, with his many fine qualities, his firm belief that man can be made good by statute, and his insistence that others accept his ideas of goodness. The fact that Calvin was a chronic sufferer from dyspepsia may help to explain his rather gloomy view of life.

Although Calvinism shows traces of the influence of both Luther and Zwingli it is somewhat different from the teachings of either. Calvin was less emotional and more logical than Luther and more thoroughgoing in his ideas of reform. While Luther would leave in his religion anything not prohibited in the scriptures, Calvin would have nothing not expressly authorized. Calvin accepted Zwingli's ideas that the bread and wine of the mass were merely symbols. He developed the idea of predestination, that God determines before birth who is to be saved. He put the control of the church in the hands of the minister and elders or presbyters (hence Presbyterian) doing away with the bishops and archbishops which Luther kept as administrative officials.

Calvin's influence on modern Protestantism was even greater than that of Luther. He worked unbelievably hard, preaching, lecturing, writing treatises and carrying on a voluminous correspondence with his followers. His school of theology at the University of Geneva attracted students from all over Europe. The wide diffusion of his ideas bears witness to his ability to inspire those with whom he came in contact. Calvinism is represented by the Huguenots in France, the Puritans in England, the Dutch Reformed Church in Holland and the Presbyterians in Scotland.

THE PROTESTANT REVOLT IN ENGLAND

Although England had many of the same reasons for breaking away from the Catholic church that the Continent had, the manner in which the breach came about and the resulting

religion were quite different. The power of the Pope had been limited here much more than in Germany by laws and royal decrees, but there were still complaints concerning the amounts of money going to Rome. There was criticism of the clergy, especially from the humanists led by More and Colet. There was also a strong national feeling fostered and extended by the first of the powerful Tudor monarchs, Henry VII. Luther's ideas spread to England and were welcomed by a few, especially among the educated classes, but they made little impression on the common people. The king vigorously opposed the new ideas and even wrote a treatise answering Luther, for which the Pope conferred on him the title of "Defender of the Faith."

A personal matter, however, changed Henry's attitude. He had married his brother's widow, Catherine of Aragon, securing a dispensation to break the canon law which prohibited marriages of this sort. Only one of the six children of this marriage survived, a girl, Mary, and Henry was anxious to have a male heir to the throne. He was also in love with Anne Boleyn, a maid-in-waiting at the court. To solve both his problems he conceived the idea of having his marriage with Catherine annulled. The Pope hesitated to reverse a decision of his predecessor and the impatient king took matters into his own hands. He bullied the clergy into recognizing him as supreme head of the English church and after a decision from one of his tools, whom he had appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, granting that his marriage with Catherine was void, he married Anne Boleyn. The Pope excommunicated Henry but, undismayed, he forced Parliament to pass a series of laws cutting England off from all connection with the Pope and declaring the king to be the supreme head of the English church. Henry next suppressed the monasteries, confiscating their valuable property.

Henry, however, was no Lutheran. Having gone so far, he wished to stop, leaving the doctrines of the church and the mode of worship unchanged. He executed impartially

those who remained loyal to the Pope and those who denied Catholic doctrines. What he wanted and what Anglicanism, as the religion of the Church of England is called, was during his lifetime was Catholicism with the king substituted for the Pope.

In spite of Henry's opposition Protestantism developed. Even before his death, English translations of the Bible came into general use and English was substituted for Latin in many church services. Under his successor Edward VI the English Church traveled still farther from Catholic doctrines. Images of the saints and stained-glass windows were removed from the churches. Services were greatly simplified. Protestants of all sorts were allowed to preach and hold services freely. The next ruler, however, Mary, the daughter of Henry and Catherine, was a devout Roman Catholic and she attempted to restore Catholicism. She forced Parliament to repeal the various laws of the two previous reigns, reappointed Catholic bishops and brought about a reconciliation with the Pope. Those who were unable to change their religion with each change of sovereign suffered. Mary's persecution of Protestants won her the name of "Bloody Mary."

Mary was succeeded by her half-sister Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn. Since according to Catholic doctrine Elizabeth was an illegitimate child and hence ineligible to the throne, she found it expedient to renounce Catholicism. At her bidding, Parliament re-enacted the laws against the Pope and gave the queen full power to regulate the church in matters of doctrine. The doctrines were set forth in the thirty-nine articles adopted by Parliament and still remain the fundamental constitution of Anglicanism. Anglicanism as defined by the thirty-nine articles was and is a religion midway between Catholicism and Calvinism. Its belief in justification by faith and its appeal to the Scriptures as the sole source of authority mark it definitely as Protestant, although it keeps the Catholic administrative hierarchy of archbishop, bishop and priest and much of the Catholic ritual.

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION

Long before Luther, many devout Catholics had been demanding reform in the church. The rapid spread of Protestantism strengthened these demands and led to a series of reforms so important as to deserve the name of the Catholic Reformation. In 1545 a general Council met at Trent to consider a reformation of the church "in head and members." It refused to compromise on matters of doctrine, retaining the old ones with some clarification. In matters of administration it advocated thorough reform, prohibiting the sale of offices, the granting of indulgences for money and the charging of fees for performing the sacraments; ordering bishops and other officials to live in their districts and perform their duties. The Popes of the sixteenth century, who were more able and less worldly than their immediate predecessors, carried out the recommendations of the Council and added measures of their own to restore discipline among the clergy and piety throughout the church. A new edition of the Latin Bible, the Vulgate, was issued; the Index, a list of books which Catholics were forbidden to read, was instituted; the Court of Inquisition was revived to stamp out heresy, especially Protestantism.

Several new religious orders were founded to aid in carrying out reform. The most important of them was the Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1534. The purposes of the Jesuits, as members of the society are called, were: (1) to reform the church through teaching and example; (2) to win back Protestant countries to Catholicism, and (3) to carry Christianity to heathen lands. Loyola had been a soldier, and the order was organized on a military basis with absolute obedience to the head. Included in their vows was a special oath of allegiance to the Pope. The order grew rapidly and won considerable success in all its aims. By their learning and their upright and devoted lives the Jesuits gained the respect of all. Their schools were the best in Europe, and many Protestants sent their children to them. They were

instrumental in preventing the spread of Protestantism, especially in South Germany. As missionaries their members penetrated the wilds of Asia and America. Later in their history, many charges of dishonesty and deceitfulness were brought against the Jesuits leading to their expulsion from many countries. Some of these charges were doubtless true, but a society so active against Protestantism was bound to make enemies, however honest their methods.

RESULTS

In the Middle Ages there was the universal church under the headship of the Pope, controlling the religion of all Christendom, and claiming supremacy over all civil governments. Today we have a church in which membership is entirely voluntary, which in no way rivals the authority of the civil government, and which is divided into a Catholic church and a multitude of Protestant sects. There have been three main steps in bringing about this change: (1) the revolt of national churches from the Pope and the setting up of one of the forms of Protestantism as the state religion, (2) the development of tolerance so that forms of worship other than the one fixed by the government were allowed, and (3) the separation of church and state, putting all religions on an equal basis. The first of these steps had been taken by 1600. In every state there was an established church, either Catholic or Protestant, but no religious toleration.

By an established church we mean one which in its relations with the civil government has special privileges or responsibilitities not possessed by other churches. While the relations between a government and the established church vary in different countries, in general the doctrines of the church are fixed by law, and the government grants some financial support and has a voice in the appointment of some of the officials. By lack of toleration we mean that the practise of religions other than the state religion is prohibited by law and people who refuse to accept the state religion are liable to punishment.

In Italy, Spain, Portugal, the southern Netherlands, France, Poland, Austria and the south German states Catholicism was, in 1600, still the established religion. In these countries Protestantism had gained relatively few followers. In the rest of western Europe Protestantism in one of the three main forms, —Lutheranism, Calvinism and Anglicanism—prevailed. Lutheranism was the state religion in the north German states, Sweden, Norway and Denmark. Calvinism was established in most of the Swiss cantons, in the northern Netherlands under the name of the Dutch Reformed Church and in Scotland under the name of Presbyterianism. Anglicanism was the established religion in England. Nowhere, however, was the established religion accepted unanimously by the inhabitants. There were groups in all countries which refused to accept the state religion and which suffered varying degrees of persecution. Besides the Catholics, there were in most Protestant countries groups who believed in some form of Protestantism other than the established one. In the Germanies there were a few Calvinists and Anabaptists, a sect more radical than any of the main three. In England there were Presbyterians, Quakers and a large number, more or less infected with Calvinistic ideas, who were called Puritans. They included the Non-Conformists who remained in the Anglican church but wished the reformation to go farther, and groups of Independents or Separatists who withdrew entirely from the Anglican organization. From the Non-conformists developed the low church party in the Anglican church and from the Separatists, the Congregationalists, the Unitarians and other sects common in the United States. The Methodists are a group who separated later from the Church of England.

These religious differences were a cause of a great deal of trouble and bloodshed in Europe. Many of the wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are called religious wars, although often trade or dynastic rivalry were the real causes and religion only a contributing one. Philip II's attempt to stamp out Protestantism in the Netherlands was largely responsible for the revolt of the Netherlands, and the declara-

tion of independence by Holland in 1581. Together with trade rivalry religion was the cause of the war between England and Spain culminating in the Spanish Armada of 1588. The last great struggle in which religion was a prominent cause was the Thirty Years War (1608-1648) between the Catholic and Protestant countries of Germany in which Sweden and France became involved on the Protestant side and Spain on the Catholic. This was one of the cruelest and most destructive wars in history. Whole villages were wiped out; the population of large regions was reduced by half. The ravages of the war set back civilization a century in Germany. By the Peace of Westphalia, 1648, the settlement of the Peace of Augsburg that each ruler might fix the religion of his state was reaffirmed with the addition that Calvinism as well as Lutheranism or Catholicism might be chosen. This peace also showed the weakness of the Holy Roman Empire by giving the various states the right to make treaties with each other and with foreign powers, a right which they had long made use of, although never before recognized by the Empire.

Even more important than the international wars over religion were the civil wars and persecutions that went on within the different states. Catholic and Protestant rulers were equally intolerant. In Spain the Inquisition was revived and thousands who refused to recant their Protestant views were executed. In France the Huguenots grew in numbers in spite of repression and persecution until they became an important factor in French politics. Massacres of Huguenots and religious warfare continued all the last half of the sixteenth century until finally Henry of Navarre, who had been a Protestant, became Henry IV of France. Realizing that the great majority of Frenchmen were Catholics, he decreed that Catholicism should remain the state religion, but issued the Edict of Nantes (1598) granting the Huguenots freedom of worship in all but a few districts and giving them full civil rights. The Huguenots prospered until 1685, when Louis XIV repealed the Edict of Nantes, an act which resulted

in the execution of many Protestants and the flight of many others to foreign countries. Although persecution of Huguenots died down after a time, the harsh laws against them were not repealed until the French Revolution.

In Protestant countries both Catholics and Protestants who would not conform to the established church were persecuted. In England under Elizabeth and the Stuarts, dissenters were treated even more harshly than Catholics since, because of their greater numbers, they were a greater menace. We will tell more of these persecutions when we describe the long political struggle between the Stuarts and the Puritans. By the Toleration Act, 1689, all dissenters were allowed to worship in their own way. Although Catholics were not included in the provisions of the act, they were no longer persecuted. Neither Catholics or dissenters, however, were allowed to hold office until the nineteenth century.

Religious toleration was unheard of at the time of Luther, but gradually people wearied of the bloodshed caused by religious differences and came to see that it was not at all essential that every person in a country should have the same beliefs or worship in the same way. Zeal for religious persecution died, and by the middle of the eighteenth century, although laws requiring uniformity remained on the statute books, the execution of a heretic became a rare occurrence. It was well into the nineteenth century in most countries before toleration was decreed by law and persons of other than the state faith were given full civil and political rights. The establishment of toleration is the second great step in the development of Christianity and it is a milestone in the progress of civilization. Although such phenomena as the Ku Klux Klan in the United States and the massacres of Jews in Catholic Poland remind us that religious bigotry is not dead, the fact that most Christians have ceased to kill each other over matters of religious doctrine strengthens the hope that mankind will in time see the futility of persecuting those who do not agree with them on economic or political questions.

We must not let the struggles between groups of Christians blind us to the essential unity of Christianity. All Christians, Catholic and Protestants, have the Old and New Testaments as the basis of their faith. All of them, with the exception of the Unitarians and a few other small sects believe that Jesus was the son of God, who died as a sacrifice that all men might be saved. All Roman Catholics accept, and all Protestants reject, the headship of the Pope and certain doctrines and rituals not specifically laid down in the scriptures, such as belief in purgatory and the invocation of saints. Catholics believe that the scriptures may be interpreted only by the church and that salvation is possible only through the church, with its sacraments performed by the clergy. Protestants believe in each individual's right to interpret the scriptures for himself and that salvation is possible through the efforts of the individual without the intervention of the church. This Protestant doctrine of the right of individual interpretation of the scriptures accounts for the many Protestant sects.

Aside from the results already noted—the disruption of the universal church and the establishment of national churches—the Protestant revolt had several important indirect results. Rivalry between Catholics and Protestants led to a higher standard of individual morality. The assault on Catholic doctrines led to a stricter interpretation of those doctrines and less individual freedom within the Catholic church. Politically the removal of papal control greatly increased the power of the rulers in Protestant countries and even in Catholic countries the Popes granted concessions to keep the rulers faithful. The founding of national churches fostered the growth of nationalism. The kings were forced to grant new powers to the bourgeoisie to offset the increased power which the nobles gained by the seizure of church property. One class that did not benefit was the workers; what they saved in lower taxes to the church was taken from them in increased taxes collected by the king.

Like the Renaissance, the Protestant Revolt was essentially

a backward looking movement. It was "the final flower of the Middle Ages rather than the first fruits of the new era." Luther wished to go back to the religion of the scriptures and the church fathers, not forward to a new conception of religion. The revolt was not primarily an intellectual movement and in no sense a rationalistic one. "Rationalist" and "free thinker" were terms of reproach to Protestants as well as to Catholics. The Council of Trent declared that "he who is gifted with the heavenly knowledge of faith is free from an inquisitive curiosity; for when God commands us to believe, He does not propose to have us search into His divine judgments, nor to inquire their reasons and causes, but demands an immutable faith. . . . . Faith, therefore, excludes not only all doubt but even the desire of subjecting its truth to demonstration." Against this we may set Luther's warning to avoid "that silly little fool, that Devil's bride, Dame Reason, God's worst enemy. . . . . Keep to revelation and do not try to understand." Nevertheless the Protestant doctrine of the right of individual interpretation of the Scriptures was a step toward rationalism, the attack on the Pope's power a step toward toleration.

The last step in the development of modern Christianity did not start in most countries until recent times and is still going on. We will deal with it later, when the reasons for it will be more apparent.

CHAPTER IX

Development of the English Parliament

The world is indebted to England for two great contributions: one is the system of common law, already described, used throughout the English speaking world; the other is her parliament. England is justly called the "Mother of Parliaments," for today in every civilized country there is a parliament or legislature which has been modeled after or influenced by that of England.

The English Parliament did not come into existence all at once by the decree of a king or as the result of the deliberations of a constitutional convention. It has developed slowly and gradually over a period of more than one thousand years and is still developing. In the beginning it was a far different body both in composition and functions from what it is today. Although many facts as to the development of parliament are lost in the past, we shall try to trace the main steps.

Under the Saxons there was a body called the Witangemot or council of wise men, which had a voice in choosing the king and some control over the government. When the Normans conquered England, this body was superseded by a body called the Great Council, which is the ancestor of the modern parliament. This Great Council was a feudal body similar to that which every feudal lord held, made up of those who held land directly from the king. Attendance at the council was not a privilege but a duty which every vassal had to perform in return for the land that he held. It was the means by which the king controlled the nobles, forcing them to pay their feudal dues and to furnish their quota of men

for war. The council also had the important function of acting as a court to decide disputes between its members—a function which led, as we shall see, to important developments later.

It was Henry II (1154-1189), whose work in establishing courts and in developing the common law we have already described, who first made the Great Council important as a court. To the king's court or Curia Regis as the Great Council was called when it sat for the settlement of disputes, he allowed all above the rank of villein (serf) to bring cases. In order that these cases might be decided properly he appointed trained lawyers to sit with the Curia Regis. Many cases formerly tried in the feudal courts held by the nobles were now tried in the king's court. For the king this had the double advantage of increasing his power at the expense of the nobles and of bringing in large revenue in fees.

Henry's system of courts, with the Curia Regis at the head, made him supreme over the barons. The supremacy of the king was a good thing so long as the king ruled wisely as Henry did; but his sons, Richard and John, used their powers for their own selfish ends and the power of the king became intolerable. The resulting dispute culminated in the great revolt of the barons in 1215 which forced John to grant the Great Charter.

Much has been written about the importance of Magna Carta. Many of its provisions are important, but we must remember that it was won by the nobles; it refers to the nobles and not to the great mass of common people. For example, the famous provision that "no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned unless by the lawful judgment of his peers" did not guarantee jury trial but merely meant that the nobles should be judged by each other and not by the king's judges, whom they did not consider their peers. Similarly the provision that "No acutage or aid shall be imposed in our kingdom except the customary feudal aids, unless by the General Council of our kingdom" did not mean that the king or the nobles could not tax their villeins as much as they pleased,

but simply that the king could collect no more than the customary feudal dues from the nobility without their consent. The real importance of the Great Charter in the development of parliament is that it stood as a symbol of the ability of the people to limit the power of the king. It became the habit of succeeding kings to issue similar charters reiterating and extending the concessions made by John. If the nobles had been able to force a king to submit to them, why could not common people do the same?

Up to the middle of the thirteenth century the Great Council or Parliament as it began to be called (parliament was a general name for any meeting or body of men) remained a group of landlords—nobles, bishops and abbots who had seats by virtue of the fact that they held land, and representatives of the knights, who were landlords below the rank of noble. This last group was added, probably some time in the twelfth century, as the feudal idea of land-holding began to weaken, in order to get taxes from the land-holders who were practically outside the feudal system. Parliament's main functions were to act as a court to try cases and to consent to taxes proposed by the king. Originally the king had simply told them what taxes were to be collected. The king still originated the taxes but, as a result of Magna Carta and custom, Parliament must consent to any except the regular feudal dues. Parliament was not yet a law making body. Laws were made by the king.

The next step in Parliament's development came in the thirteenth century as a result of the weakness of Henry III. Groups of barons were fighting to gain control of the government. One of them, Simon de Montfort, temporarily in power in 1265, summoned a parliament to gain popular support against his rivals and invited two citizens from each town to sit with the nobles. This "Mad Parliament," as it was called, was not a legal parliament, since it was not summoned by the king. But the example of Simon de Montfort was followed in 1295 by Edward I in the "Model Parliament,"

in which two representatives from each town and two from each county sat with the nobles.

Edward I summoned the representatives from the towns not because he was anxious to give them a voice in the government but because he wished to get taxes from them. At first taxes had been levied only on land, but with the development of trade a new form of wealth came into existence—that accumulated by the merchants. Henry II had started taxing this personal property, and as the government was continually doing more things, necessitating a larger revenue, Edward called the representatives from the towns in order to get this revenue more easily. We must remember that Parliament's functions were still only those of deciding disputes and granting taxes. The representatives of the towns and shires were not anxious to attend Parliament any more than the nobles. They were the scapegoats for the rest of the people who might stay away while they attended. There are records of representatives trying to avoid attendance and even fleeing the country when they heard of their election. As Pollock says, "Parliament did not clamor to be created; it was forced by an enlightened monarchy on a less enlightened people." This habit of looking upon attendance at Parliament as a burden changed as Parliament gained powers—to limit taxes and make laws.

We are not certain just how Parliament developed the power to make laws but know that it was a very slow development. At the time of Edward I (1272-1307) the main function of Parliament was still the judicial one of settling individual grievances. This quite naturally led to an attempt to lay down general rules for their orderly procedure and guidance—that is, statute laws which would cover a large number of individual cases—and so we have Parliament making laws. Other laws were still made by the king, but Edward I began submitting laws to Parliament for approval.

Approval of the king's decrees was at first given as a matter of form, but Parliament soon realized its power to coerce

the king by withholding approval of taxes and began to debate and amend the laws. Even after Parliament's right to amend or reject laws was recognized, the king still used his power to change laws passed by Parliament and to issue ordinances having the force of law independently of Parliament. The respective rights of king and Parliament over law-making developed so slowly that it was not clearly defined, and Parliament's supremacy was not definitely recognized until the revolution of 1688. The form in which England's laws are still drafted, "by the King's most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons . . ." shows the origin of legislative power.

Up to the reign of Edward II (1307-1327) Parliament consisted of but one house. It is probable, however, that from the beginning, the representatives of the towns, after they had heard the king's requests, retired to deliberate by themselves, the Speaker alone having the right to speak before the full Parliament. The knights of the shire, since like the townsmen they came only in response to general warrants, began sitting with them. During the reign of Edward II these two groups began sitting and voting as a separate house. One of them came to be called the House of Lords, the other the House of Commons, not, as many suppose because it represented the great mass of common people, for as a matter of fact it did not. It represented the wealthy classes below the rank of nobles. The term "Commons" came into use because these people represented the communes or towns. The growing power of the House of Commons is shown by the fact that at the beginning of Edward III's reign (1327) it was possible for Parliament to continue its session after the Commons had adjourned, but by the end of his reign (1377) Parliament could take no action unless the Commons was in session.

At about the same time that the Commons became a distinct body membership in the House of Lords became more clearly defined. Originally the Great Council had been made

up of landlords, lay and clerical, the greater ones receiving a special summons and the lesser ones a general summons through the sheriff. No one had the right to receive a special summons, but as they were sent to certain large landholders time after time, these landlords finally came to look upon it as a right and one that could be handed down to their oldest sons. The holders of those pieces of land whose owner had been receiving special summonses long enough for them to claim it as a right were called peers, the equals of the king. Different titles of nobility sprang up—baron, earl, duke, marquis, viscount—many of them borrowed from the continent. The distinction between them is largely a social one, all having the same political right to a seat in the House of Lords. Richard II started the practice of creating peers by letters patent, a practice that has been widely followed by all his successors—indeed more than half of the present members of the House of Lords have received their titles in the past sixty years and only a handful date farther back than 1800.

The Hundred Years War with France begun by Edward III in 1338 turned out to be a strong factor in the development of Parliament's powers. In order to get funds to carry on the war, the king found it necessary to call Parliament frequently—it met seventy-two times in the seventy-two years of the reigns of Edward III and his successor, Richard II. Parliament, especially the House of Commons, was not slow to learn the power that its control of the purse gave it over the actions of the king. In return for grants of money it demanded that the king agree to laws it desired, and that he modify his policy or that of his ministers to suit it. By 1400 four powers of Parliament had been clearly established: (1) to agree to all taxes, (2) to agree to all laws, (3) to impeach the king's ministers, (4) to influence if not control the king's policy, both foreign and domestic. Besides this, members of Parliament had won two privileges which all legislative bodies today look upon as almost natural rights; freedom from arrest while attending Parliament or journeying to or from its meetings,

and freedom from punishment for anything they might say in Parliament.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, Parliament's powers developed but little; in fact, it lost some of those it had already gained—first because of the growing influence of a few great noble families, which culminated in the War of the Roses, and, second, because the strong monarchy instituted by the Tudor sovereigns virtually dispensed with Parliament altogether. Once the House of Lords became a clearly defined body and the right to a seat in it a privilege, a process of amalgamation began to take place among the noble families. By intermarriage titles were combined and the nobility became a small body of great men rather than a large body of small men. Edward III, by a policy of marrying his sons into powerful families, tried to win the support of these families for the crown. He only succeeded, however, in making them rivals of the crown. Henry of Lancaster, at the head of one faction of nobles, forced Richard II from the throne and became king as Henry IV. His son, Henry V, kept the internal strife in check for a time by a renewal of the Hundred Years War against France, but after the French armies, inspired by Joan of Arc, had expelled the English from French soil the rivalry among the nobles broke out into civil war. One group of nobles supported the king, who was of the house of Lancaster, having a red rose as its family emblem. The opposing faction was led by the House of York, with a white rose as its emblem. The war is, therefore, called the War of the Roses. This struggle between nobles with their bands of hired retainers was really a period of anarchy in which Parliament played but a minor part.

The War of the Roses was brought to a close in 1485 when Henry Tudor of the House of Lancaster overcame his enemies, married the heiress of the house of York and was crowned as Henry VII, ushering in the powerful line of Tudor monarchs. The period of Tudor rule from 1485 to 1603 was one of rapid national development and of intellectual and material

progress. It was not, however, a period in which Parliament increased its powers or even held those it had already won. By avoiding foreign wars and by careful economy, the Tudor rulers kept down expenses and at the same time they stretched to the limit every possible source of revenue which did not require a grant from Parliament. Besides certain customs duties, feudal dues and income from the crown lands which former kings had collected, Henry VII raised money by fining the nobles for disobeying ancient and forgotten statutes and by forcing them to make him gifts. In this way Henry and his successors were able to get along with but few meetings of Parliament. Henry VII, for example, called Parliament but four times in the first twelve years of his reign and only once in the last twelve years.

When Parliament did meet it was dominated by the ruler. So many noble families had been extinguished by the War of the Roses and new nobles created that the House of Lords was made up largely of nobles who owed their titles to the Tudor sovereigns and were completely under their control. By a policy of granting trading privileges and monopolies to the merchants and favoring the smaller landlords against the nobles, the Tudors gained the good will of the middle classes and so controlled the House of Commons. We must also remember that England was at this time a relatively weak nation and that fear of a foreign invasion kept Parliament from limiting too strictly the sovereign's power. Above all, the Tudors were capable and tactful rulers who were able to handle men and get their own way. Toward the close of Elizabeth's reign, however, after the defeat of the Armada had removed the fear of a Spanish invasion, many grumblings were heard in Parliament about Elizabeth's arbitrary actions. These grumblings were held in check by respect for the Queen's sex and age, but they were to break out with increased force under James I, who came to the throne in 1603, the first of the Stuart dynasty.

Although James I was well educated and possessed of some ability, he did not look the part of a king and was totally

lacking in that tact and ability to handle men which had distinguished the Tudors. While the Tudors had been content to rule without worrying about a justification for their exercise of arbitrary powers, James insisted upon a recognition of his right to be an absolute ruler. According to him, kings received their power from God and, therefore, were free to act without rendering an account to their subjects. If the king chose to make concessions, well and good, but they could not be demanded by the people as rights.

Opposed to this theory of the Divine Right of Kings, as it came to be called, was the parliamentary theory that nothing was legal unless it had been sanctioned by Parliament. Parliament did not claim any control over the executive power of the king or his ministers, who were responsible to the king alone, but it did claim that the king and his ministers must act according to law and that no law, and no tax, was legal unless it had received the approval of Parliament. In a government like England's everything depends on precedent, and both the king and Parliament had precedents to appeal to. James could point to the absolute powers of the early kings and to the nearly absolute powers of the Tudors, while Parliament could recall the strong position that it had developed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The question was, which precedents were the stronger. The determining factor in the struggle was to be Parliament's control over the purse.

It was not any abstract question of power that Parliament was fighting for. The House of Commons was controlled by the middle class, the country squires and the merchants. It was this class that had to bear the brunt of the taxes, which were constantly increasing both in volume and variety. James was extravagant, and the rising prices caused by the influx of gold and silver from America made his fixed income from crown lands and customary dues worth less and less. Then, too, James favored a policy of peace with Spain, which was contrary to the interests of the merchants, who hoped to build up their trade by destroying that of the Spaniards.

Added to this was the religious issue. Most of the merchants were Puritans, that is, they wished to purge the Anglican church of the vestiges of Roman Catholic ritual and customs and make it more like the Lutheran or Calvinistic churches. Especially did they desire to limit the power of the bishops or abolish them altogether. James believed the Puritan attack on the power of the bishops was of the same nature as an attack on his own power and threatened to make the Puritans conform or "harry them out of the land." Both Puritans and Roman Catholics were compelled to attend Anglican services and were forbidden to hold services of their own. Economics and religion thus combined to make the House of Commons resist James I.

Parliament quarrelled with the king throughout his reign, criticizing the appointment of his favorites to high positions, his attempts to marry his son to a Spanish princess, his extravagance and his denial to Parliament of the right of free speech. James dissolved several Parliaments in disgust, but after a short interval his need of money always drove him to call another. In spite of the bickerings, nothing was settled, and on his death his son, Charles I, inherited both the throne and the quarrel with Parliament.

Charles I was more handsome and dignified than his father, but he was just as narrow-minded and less scrupulous. Charles wasted the money which Parliament had granted for a war with Spain on fruitless expeditions managed by his favorite, Buckingham, and when Parliament flatly refused to make further grants if Buckingham were to have control of them it was dissolved. His second Parliament impeached Buckingham but was dissolved by Charles before it had completed the trial and before it had made any appropriations. Charles, left without any authorization of taxes, tried to raise money by forced loans, imprisoning those who refused to lend him money, which they had little chance of getting back. His need of money, however, led him to call a third Parliament in 1628 which drew up a document called the Petition of Right to which the king was compelled to agree before any

appropriations were made. The Petition of Right declared illegal (1) loans or taxes not authorized by Parliament, (2) quartering of soldiers on householders without their consent, (3) trial by martial law in time of peace, (4) imprisonment without a specific charge. This Petition of Right is a landmark in the struggle of the English people for self-government. Its chief importance lies not so much in its particular provisions, which were virtually restatements of old rights, as in the fact that it was a concession wrung from an unwilling king by Parliament.

The signing of the Petition of Right and the murder of Buckingham, which occurred soon after, did not end the struggle between Charles and Parliament. It had been customary for centuries for Parliament to grant each new king for his lifetime the right to collect "tonnage and poundage," a tax on each cask of wine imported and on each bale of wool exported. Charles' first Parliament had granted tonnage and poundage to him for one year only. Charles, claiming that this income, having been granted to the king for centuries, was not a tax which according to the Petition of Right must receive Parliament's sanction, proceeded to collect it. Parliament protested and Charles dissolved Parliament.

During this period of absolute government Charles rigidly enforced all laws against the Puritans, hating them for their religious ideas and realizing that they were the leaders of the political opposition to himself. Under the leadership of Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, the Puritans were persecuted until, in the decade 1630-1640, more than twenty-five thousand left the country to settle in America. Besides religion, finances were the main source of contention. Charles made peace with both France and Spain and economized in every possible way. He continued to collect tonnage and poundage, which, thanks to the growing trade, were increasing in value. He granted monopolies to corporations in return for large fees; he revived forgotten laws and fined those who had unknowingly broken them. One of the most unpopular of his irregular ways of raising revenue was "ship money." It was an

old custom for seaport towns to furnish ships for the national defense. Charles, claiming that since they no longer furnished ships they should contribute money, in 1634 forced the seaport towns to pay large sums and the next year extended the tax to inland towns as well. By these various devices Charles was able to raise enough revenue to take care of ordinary expenses, but when his attempt to compel the Scotch to remodel their Presbyterian church along Anglican lines resulted in a revolt, he had to call Parliament to get money to put down the rebellion.

This Parliament, usually called the Short Parliament, began discussing grievances instead of making appropriations, and after three weeks it was dissolved. After the king's army had been defeated by the Scotch and various desperate measures for raising money had failed, Charles gave way and called another Parliament, destined to be known as the Long Parliament, since it controlled affairs for twenty years.

The Long Parliament provided that Parliament should meet every three years, even though not called by the king, and that it could not be dissolved without its own consent. It impeached and executed Strafford and Laud, the king's two principal ministers, abolished the Court of Star Chamber and other tribunals and commissions which Charles had used to carry out his arbitrary powers, declared illegal the collection of ship money or of customs duties without the consent of Parliament and prohibited the imposition of fines for disobedience of obsolete laws. All these laws were put through without causing any great friction among the members of Parliament. Such was not the case, however, much to the secret delight of the king, when Parliament undertook to revise the religious laws. A minority favored merely a limitation of the power of the bishops and other slight modifications in the Anglican church. A majority favored the abolition of the bishops and the establishment of Presbyterianism as it existed in Scotland. Another minority, the Independents, wished to have no established church but to leave each congregation free to adopt whatever form of worship it wished.

In the wrangling and dissension that ensued, Charles thought he saw his opportunity to recover his lost political power. He had agreed to all of Parliament's acts because there seemed no way of avoiding it, but he was by no means reconciled. Overestimating the lack of harmony in Parliament and believing that public opinion did not approve of its extreme measures, he charged five members of Parliament with treason, and forced his way into a session of Parliament to arrest them. Parliament, forgetting its differences, resented this attack on its privileges. Extreme measures on both sides followed, and finally open warfare broke out between the supporters of King Charles and those of Parliament.

In the civil war most of the nobility and wealthier landlords supported the king, while the middle classes, the small land owners and merchants, supported Parliament. In the early battles the better trained forces of the king, the "Cavaliers," as they were called, were generally victorious over the "Roundheads," the name given to the Puritans, who wore their hair closely cut instead of in long curls after the fashion of the time. Parliament, however, won help from Scotland by entering into a treaty known as the "Solemn League and Covenant," providing that Presbyterianism should be established as the religion of England. With the help of the Scotch army the tide began to turn in its favor. After two decisive defeats (Marston Moor, 1644, and Naseby, 1645) and after failure to get help from France, the king surrendered (1646). The zeal and generalship of Oliver Cromwell, a country squire and a member of Parliament, who had recruited a cavalry troop and later been made second in command of the army, played a prominent part in the final victory of Parliament.

With the king a prisoner, Parliament began negotiations looking to his restoration. The Presbyterians, the majority party in Parliament, were quite willing to restore the king, faithless as he had shown himself, provided he would accept Presbyterianism as the state religion. The Independents, however, who controlled the army, had as little use for intolerant

Presbyterians as they had for intolerant Anglicans. They wanted complete freedom of worship and a more democratic form of government, and were not in sympathy with those who advocated a restoration of the king. The majority, fearing the radical ideas of the army in both politics and religion more than it did the king, tried to disband the army. The army, however, refused to disband and finally, led by Cromwell, marched into London. A Colonel Pride with a force of soldiers was stationed outside the door of Parliament and kept all members who were known to favor the king from entering. This act, by which one hundred and forty-seven Presbyterians were excluded from Parliament is known as "Pride's Purge." The part of Parliament left sitting, the "Rump," was controlled by the Independents, the army and Cromwell.

The Rump tried the king for treason, convicted and executed him. It then declared England a "Commonwealth," without king or House of Lords, giving the executive power to a Council of State of forty-one members with Cromwell as chairman. Instead of calling a new parliament the "Rump" remained as the legislative body, but Cromwell disagreed with it and in 1653 dissolved it and summoned in its stead a body known as the "Nominated Parliament," since its members were nominated by the Independent minister of the country instead of being elected. The real power for the next seven years was in the hands of the army controlled by Cromwell. Cromwell was not anxious to assume arbitrary powers, but in the critical and unsettled times was forced to do so. The members of the Nominated Parliament quarrelled among themselves and finally voted to disband, turning over their powers to Cromwell. The army leaders then drew up an "Instrument of Government," the first written constitution of modern times, establishing a "Protectorate" with Cromwell as Lord Protector for life, a Council of State, and a Parliament meeting every three years. The members of Parliament disagreed with Cromwell and with each other about taxation, foreign policy, and especially about religion, and a large part of the time Cromwell governed without Parliament,

as absolute a king in everything except name as either James or Charles had ever aspired to be.

Oliver Cromwell was one of the greatest military leaders and statesmen not only of his time and country but of all times and all countries. Without great imagination, he was able, sincere, kindly and, above all, practical. Many of his measures seem harsh and unnecessarily arbitrary, but he was living in troubled times, when it appeared that the choice was between harsh measures and anarchy. Although his opponents condemned him as a traitor and a hypocrite, those who knew him best asserted that throughout his life his actions were inspired by a desire for the welfare of his fellow citizens. Under him, England was prosperous and orderly; peace was established at home and abroad. Rebellions in Ireland and Scotland were suppressed; Barbary pirates were forced to allow English merchants in the Mediterranean; Spain was defeated in war, and advantageous treaties were made with France and Holland.

Cromwell was a Puritan, with all the Puritan virtues and all the Puritan vices. Although he was strictly brought up by a Puritan country squire father he is reputed to have sown his full share of wild oats during his youth. In his early career in Parliament, while he was a vigorous opponent of the arbitrary measures of the king, religious matters concerned him little. At about the time that the Long Parliament was called together he went through a long period of religious doubt and depression. Finally he "saw the light" in true Puritan fashion and ever after took himself most seriously as God's agent. Whatever he did, whether it was suppressing the Cavaliers or slaughtering Irish rebels, he did it in God's name, with much quoting of Scripture and a sincere belief in his own righteousness. A sense of humor would have made Cromwell seem more human and might have made his rule more tolerable, but if he had had a sense of humor doubtlessly he would have repressed it as a manifestation of the Devil.

There were many who were never satisfied with the protectorate. The landlords, the most powerful class in England,

saw their political power greatly limited and their economic position threatened. Few were satisfied with the religious settlement which gave religious freedom only to non-Anglican Protestants. Anglicans and Catholics were persecuted and Presbyterians were continually scheming for the establishment of Presbyterianism. Many, even among the Independents, resented the enforcement of the harsh Puritan code which prohibited dances, sports and festivals. The execution of the king, which many believed unjustified, produced a reaction, causing people to forget Charles' tyranny and faithlessness and look upon him as a martyr. Above all, Cromwell's government was government by the army, and a military government has never been a popular government. It is not surprising, then, that after Cromwell's death in 1658, and the failure of his weak son to maintain his government, England should turn back to the Stuarts.

The return to the throne of the Stuarts in the person of Charles II, son of Charles I, who had been living as an exile in Holland, did not mean, however, that England acquiesced in the Stuart claim to absolute power. The people could never forget that a king had been defied, dethroned and executed. Charles was welcomed back only after he had promised to respect Parliament, to allow it to levy all taxes and settle the religious question, and had granted an amnesty, with such exceptions as might be made by Parliament, to all who had taken part in the revolution. The restoration was really a return of the landlords and the Anglicans to power, and they proceeded to make the most of it. The landlords abolished all feudal payments and obligations owed to the king, substituting a tax on articles of common use, which was paid by all. They re-established a suffrage practically restricted to landowners and the unequal distribution of parliamentary districts which Cromwell had abolished, thus assuring themselves of the control of Parliament, which they kept until 1832.

The Anglican church with its bishops and prayerbook was re-established and a series of acts against Dissenters and Cath-

olics passed. Among the most important were the "Act of Uniformity," requiring all clergymen to accept the Anglican faith, the "Conventical Act," making it illegal for anyone to attend meeting for religious worship not conducted according to the Anglican prayer book, the "Corporation Act" making it illegal for anyone but an Anglican to hold office in any city or town, and the "Test Act," denying the right to hold any governmental office to anyone who did not declare his disbelief in the doctrine of transubstantiation and receive the sacrament in accordance with the rites of the Church of England.

Charles II, "the ablest, least scrupulous and most popular of the Stuarts," accepted the restrictions put upon him not because he believed in them but because he realized that it was the price he had to pay for the throne. He hoped none the less to increase the power of the king in every possible way, and to improve the position of the Roman Catholic Church, with which he was in sympathy and of which he secretly became a member in 1669. Above all, however, Charles was determined "not to take up his travels again," so that in any contest with Parliament he was willing to yield rather than lose the throne. In order to protect the Catholics, he twice issued a "Declaration of Indulgence," stating that the laws forbidding other worship than that of the established church would not be enforced; under pressure, however, he withdrew the Declarations. The one question on which Charles refused to yield, was the attempt to exclude his brother, James, from succeeding him as king.

James had openly announced his conversion to Catholicism. Many feared that if he became king he would try to make England a Catholic country, an enterprise in which he could count upon the aid of the powerful Catholic King of France, Louis XIV. The House of Commons, after three times being dissolved for attempting to pass an Exclusion bill (that is, a law depriving Charles' brother, James, of his right to the throne) finally passed it only to have it killed by the House of Lords. The movement for exclusion was at first greatly

strengthened by the story of a "Popish plot" to murder Charles II, place James upon the throne, and bring in a French army to suppress Protestantism. This story was pure fiction, but it scared Puritans and Anglicans into uniting to suppress the Catholics. Many innocent Catholics were executed on perjured testimony. The Catholic haters, however, overreached themselves and after a period of hysteria, a reaction set in which strengthened Charles, killed the exclusion bill, and enabled James to succeed to the throne in 1685.

Charles' reign was a period of growing power of Parliament. In spite of Charles' ability, his popularity and unscrupulousness, he had to yield to Parliament on practically every question except that of the exclusion bill. Although Parliament did not claim the right to have ministers responsible to it and Charles would never have admitted it, he dismissed his ministers as soon as they became unpopular with Parliament. This was the first great step in the development of the cabinet system of government of present day England, a system which has been copied by practically all the other European governments. A natural result of Parliament's increased power was the rise of political parties. They first took form in the contest over exclusion, but soon adopted other policies as well. Those in favor of exclusion and, in general, in favor of limiting the king's power and increasing that of Parliament were called "Whigs"; those who opposed interfering with the legal succession and favored maintaining the king's power were called "Tories." The Whigs derived their strength mostly from the great nobles and the bulk of the city shipowners and merchants, while the strength of the Tories lay with the country gentlemen and country clergy. The formation of parties, since it made the clarification and organization of opinion against a measure easier, contributed materially to the growth of Parliament's power.

James, as king, soon lost most of his supporters by his arbitrary acts favoring the Catholics. He suspended the Test Act and appointed Catholics to high civil and military positions. He issued a "Declaration of Indulgence" and

arrested on the charge of seditious libel seven bishops who protested against it. Since Roman Catholics were only a small minority of the English people, James' original supporters came largely from conservative Anglicans who opposed interfering with the succession because they wished to maintain a strong government. They had thought that James would probably not live long and would be succeeded by his oldest daughter Mary, who had been brought up as a Protestant and who was married to William of Orange, King of Holland and leader of the Protestants on the continent. This expectation was upset in 1688 by the birth of a son to James and his second wife, who was a Catholic. Consequently a group of prominent men, made up of both Whigs and Tories, invited William and Mary to come over immediately and take the throne.

When William landed in England with a small Dutch army, all parties and classes of Englishmen flocked to his support. James, seeing himself deserted by all but a handful of his followers, fled to France. Legally a Parliament could be called only by the king, but a convention, a parliament in everything except name, met, declared the throne vacant, and offered it to William and Mary provided they would accept Parliament's view of its rights. William and Mary accepted Parliament's terms and were crowned February 13, 1689. Several important laws were passed putting in definite form what had been accomplished by this "Glorious Revolution." The "Bill of Rights" provided among other things that the king might not suspend any law or "dispense" any subject from obeying the law, nor deny the right of petition, nor maintain a standing army in time of peace without Parliament's consent; that Parliament should meet frequently; that elections to it would be free; and that members would have full freedom of speech and action in Parliament; that excessive bail, excessive fines, and cruel and unusual punishments were forbidden. Annual sessions of Parliament were made necessary by voting taxes and granting authority over the army for but one year at a time. (It is interesting to note

in passing that many of these principles are incorporated in the American Constitution.) The religious question was settled by the passage of a Toleration Act giving Dissenters the right to worship publicly as they pleased. It did not include Catholics or sects that did not believe in the divinity of Christ, nor did it give to any but Anglicans the right to hold office.

We have now traced briefly the rise of the English Parliament from its beginnings in the Great Council of the Norman kings. We have tried to understand how this body of turbulent nobles, called together to hear the king's requests for taxes and to try such cases as might be referred to it,, gradually gained the power to fix taxes and to make laws. We have seen how its control over the purse enabled it to gain even more powers during the Hundred Years War with France; how the economical and tactful Tudors for a time put Parliament in the background. Finally we have followed the century long struggle between Parliament and the Stuarts with their claim to rule by divine right. The "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 settled once for all the fact that Parliament was supreme over the king, for had not Parliament deposed a king, put another in his place, and fixed the line of descent? Although the "Glorious Revolution" settled the right of Parliament to control the king, it left untouched the question of who was to control Parliament. No new classes were given the right to vote; large sections of England were left unrepresented. The monarchy was limited, but the composition of Parliament remained undemocratic; the first great step in the overthrow of autocracy had been taken; there still remained the task of making Parliament truly representative and democratic.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries England not only developed a parliament, laid the foundations for a world-wide empire and the supremacy in the world's trade, but she also built a strong English nation. After two centuries of fruitless attempts to conquer Scotland the two countries were united in 1603, when James VI of Scotland became James I of England. For over a century this was merely a

personal union, each country keeping its own parliament, but in 1707 by the Act of Union the two countries were united into the Kingdom of Great Britain with a common parliament. In Ireland the pale, the section under British control, was gradually extended, although not without much bloodshed. The rise of a wealthy middle class depending on national support for their commercial ventures strengthened the feeling of nationalism. The exploits of the Elizabethan "sea-dogs" fired the national imagination. The King James version of the Bible, the writings of Spenser, Jonson, Shakespeare and Milton, to mention but a few of the great names, gave form to the English language and helped the people of England to realize and take pride in the fact that they were Englishmen.

IMPORTANT DATES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT

1066 Norman Conquest.
1154-1189 Henry II—Beginning of grand jury system and common law, King's Courts strengthened.
1215 Magna Carta.
1265 Simon de Montfort's "Mad Parliament."
1295 Edward I's "Model Parliament."
c 1300 King begins submitting laws to Parliament for approval.
c 1320 Lords and Commons start sitting separately.
1486-1607 Tudor dynasty, Parliament loses power.
1628 Petition of Right.
1640 Long Parliament meets.
1649 Charles I beheaded, Commonwealth established.
1653 Protectorate established.
1664 Charles II restored to throne.
1688 Glorious Revolution.
1689 Bill of Rights.

CHAPTER X

Dynastic and Commercial Rivalries Among the Nations

The leading country in Europe in the sixteenth century was Spain. Spain's greatness, however, was not built on solid foundations, and after the death of Philip II she sank to the position of a second rate power. During the seventeenth century France held the leadership of Europe, intellectual as well as political and military. England, engrossed in the struggle between Parliament and the Stuarts, paid little attention to continental politics except as they concerned her trade or her colonial empire. During the period of Spain's greatness France had been weakened by civil wars, political and religious, but thanks to Henry IV, Sully, Richelieu and Mazarin, Louis XIV in 1661 inherited a well-organized and highly centralized government, a full treasury and a strong army. The Estates General had not met since 1614, so that there was no one in France to question the king's authority.

Louis XIV was a fitting king for such a kingdom. Handsome, elegant, intelligent, industrious, self-confident and ambitious, he made his country the leading state of Europe, his court a model for all later and lesser monarchs and his government a symbol for absolutism. One mark of Louis' genius and no small factor in his greatness was his ability to gather able men around him. For his glorification Bishop Bossuet wrote a treatise which has become the classic philosophical justification for divine right monarchy. Colbert, foremost apostle of mercantilism, strengthened the finances and carefully nursed commerce, manufacture and agriculture. Louvois as minister of war and Condé and Turenne, ablest

generals of their time, made the French armies feared throughout Europe.

In order that this "Grand Monarchy" might have a suitable setting, Louis built at Versailles a capital whose palaces and grounds rivalled those of any oriental potentate in luxury and beauty. Here came the fashionable not only of France but of all Europe. Here were set the styles that were copied everywhere by those who wished to be considered smart. Nobles gave up their wars and rebellions to learn the elegant way to kiss a lady's hand and to vie with each other for the privilege of combing the king's hair. All this philandering and extravagant display had one good result. Many artists, writers, architects, sculptors and painters received pensions from the king and were encouraged to develop their art. Under Louis' patronage Corneille, Molière and Racine developed the classical French drama.

There was a dark side to the brilliance of Louis XIV's reign. All the magnificence at Versailles cost money; the long wars into which Louis' ambitions led him cost more. In spite of Colbert's financial reform and attempts at economy the national debt grew and taxes became more and more burdensome. The nobles knew how to evade the taxes; the bourgeoisie, under Colbert's protection, received special concessions; the burden fell on the peasants, whose lot was becoming steadily more miserable. The grandeur of Louis XIV was the first scene in the drama which was to have its climax in the hectic days of 1789.

Louis XIV inherited an old feud with the Hapsburgs. As we have noted, the Hapsburgs became practically hereditary emperors of the Holy Roman Empire in the thirteenth century. Although the title of Emperor amounted to little, by conquest and by marriage they increased their territories until Charles V in the sixteenth century controlled not only Austria and its dependencies, Carinthia, Styria, the Tyrol and others, but also the Netherlands, Spain, the Kingdom of Naples (or the two Sicilies), Milan, Franche Comte (the

county of Burgundy) and the vast colonial empire that Spain had built up. At Charles' death his possessions were divided, his son Philip II receiving Spain, the Netherlands and the Italian territories, his brother Ferdinand receiving the Austrian provinces. Ferdinand had married the heiress to the Kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, so that these were added to the Hapsburg dominions.

Since France was practically surrounded by Hapsburg territories rivalry between the two dynasties was inevitable. Francis I of France (1515-1547) spent most of his reign in indecisive wars against Charles V. Richelieu and Mazarin intervened on the Protestant side in the Thirty Years War, gaining for France Alsace and the bishoprics of Metz, Verdun and Toul, all former parts of the Holy Roman Empire. Louis XIV, with these precedents before him, started out in 1667 to gain for France her "natural boundary" on the east, the Rhine.

For the next hundred years wars and rumors of wars filled Europe and spread to distant India and America. While each of these wars had its own peculiar causes and each nation had mixed reasons for taking part, there were four main causes for all of them. (1) Many were dynastic wars, that is, they were caused by the desire of monarchs to add to their territory and increase the glory of themselves and their families. Since, with the exception of England, all the kings were absolute, nations might be plunged into war at the whim of the king without the slightest regard for the wishes of the people. The long struggle between the Hapsburgs and the French Bourbons is a good example of this dynastic rivalry. (2) Closely connected with dynastic ambitions was the idea of maintaining the "Balance of Power." While this expression is difficult to define, since it is used with various shades of meaning, in general it means that no one power or group of powers shall be allowed to become so strong as to threaten the safety of other powers. The desire to maintain the balance of power has been a potent cause of war right down

to the present time. No one can determine just when a perfect balance exists and no nation is ever satisfied unless the balance is in its favor. (3) Religion, while it played a part of steadily decreasing importance, helped bring on war. Although it was more often an excuse than a real reason, it helped to stir up animosity between countries. (4) The cause which was in the background of most of the wars of the period and whose importance increased as time went on was trade and colonial rivalry. The mercantilist theory, by which trade with colonies was permitted only to the mother country, made the struggle for colonies a keen one.

WARS OF LOUIS XIV

In his first three wars Louis was trying to extend France's eastern boundary to the Rhine at the expense of the Spanish Hapsburgs and the states of the Holy Roman Empire, which were nominally under the control of the Austrian Hapsburgs. He also wished to strike a blow at the commercial power of Holland. At different times Holland, England, Sweden and various German states came to the aid of the Hapsburgs. Under the Catholic Stuarts, Charles II and James II, England's efforts against Louis were half-hearted, Charles indeed having been bought by a secret pension from the French king. But by the revolution of 1688, William, Stadtholder of Holland and implacable enemy of Louis XIV, became king of England as William III and from that time England took a leading part in resisting Louis' aggressions. William attacked the French colonies in America, beginning the long struggle for colonial empire which will be spoken of later. By the peace of Ryswick (1697) Louis gave up some of the territory he had won, but retained all of the province of Alsace—the net result of sixteen years of fighting.

Louis was not content with this small addition to his kingdom; he was fighting for higher stakes. Charles II of Spain had no children or brothers. The elder of his sisters was the wife of Louis XIV and the younger the wife of Emperor Leopold, the Austrian Hapsburg. If the Spanish

possessions, which included, besides Spain itself, the Belgian Netherlands (Philip II had lost the northern Netherlands or Holland, see p. 147), the Kingdom of the two Sicilies, Milan and the great colonial empire in America, were joined either to those of France or of Austria the balance of power would be completely upset. Louis showed his diplomatic skill by persuading the sickly Charles, who had been the butt of his previous wars, to make a will leaving his throne with all its possessions to Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. It was obvious that neither Austria or England, who particularly feared the union of the colonial empires of France and Spain, would consent to this arrangement, but Louis decided to risk it and despatched his grandson with his blessing to become the first Bourbon king of Spain.

Thus started the war of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713). The alliance against France and Spain consisted of England, Austria, Holland, the principal German states, Portugal and Savoy. After eleven years of exhausting but indecisive fighting the war was ended by the Peace of Utrecht, a landmark in European history. By this treaty (1) Philip V was recognized as King of Spain, but with the condition that the crowns of Spain and France should never be united. (2) Austria received the Spanish Netherlands (henceforth called the Austrian Netherlands), Naples, Sardinia and Milan, thus gaining a prominent position in Italy, which she held until 1866. (3) The Duke of Savoy received Sicily and was recognized as a king. (In 1720 Sicily was exchanged with Austria for Sardinia and thereafter the kingdom is usually called Sardinia. The kings of modern Italy are descended from the ruling house of Savoy.) (4) England, besides large gains in America, received Gibraltar and Minorca. She was also given a preferential tariff on her imports into Cadiz, the right to supply Spanish America with slaves, and the right to send one shipload of merchandise a year to the Spanish colonies. These commercial privileges of England in the Spanish colonies were known as the Assiento. (5) The Elector of Brandenburg was recognized as King of Prussia.

RISE OF PRUSSIA—THE HOHENZOLLERNS

Since Prussia was destined to play an increasingly important part in the affairs of Europe it will be well to outline the main steps in her rise to power. The original home of the Hohenzollerns was a castle on the hill of Zollern north of Switzerland. Gradually their territories expanded, and in the fifteenth century one of them bought from the Emperor the Electorate of Brandenburg. By conquest and fortunate marriage alliances their territory steadily increased, one of the most important additions being the duchy of East Prussia, which they originally held as vassals of the King of Poland but later in full sovereignity. In 1701 the Emperor granted the Hohenzollerns the title of King of Prussia as the price of his entrance into the War of the Spanish Succession, and as we have seen this title was recognized by the other nations in the Treaty of Utrecht.

Frederick William I, who came to the throne the year of the Peace of Utrecht, and his son Frederick II (1740-1786) made Prussia a first class power. Frederick William was as absolute and paternalistic in his government as Louis XIV, but he had none of the French king's love of luxury. Miserly economy ruled at the court and throughout the country. The one thing that he did not stint was his army. He left his son a well-organized government, a full treasury and an army of 80,000 of the best trained and best officered troops in Europe.

This son had caused his father a great deal of worry. He was a dreamer, interested in literature and music, lacking all of the brusque, soldierly qualities characteristic of and dear to the old king. Much against his inclination he was forced to go through a thorough apprenticeship in all branches of civil and military administration. As king this dreamer became the ablest administrator, the craftiest general and the most daring and unscrupulous diplomat of his time, well deserving his title of Frederick the Great.

One of his first acts as king was to steal Silesia from Maria

Theresa of Austria. Maria Theresa ruled over a polyglot collection of peoples—Germans and Slavs in Austria and its dependencies, Italians in Milan and Naples, Czechs in Bohemia, Magyars in Hungary, Flemish in the Netherlands. These lands had nothing in common but the sovereign, each having its own distinct administration. Maria's father, Charles VI, had spent the closing years of his reign in getting the various rulers of Europe to agree, in return for substantial concessions, to the so-called Pragmatic Sanction, which stated that the Hapsburg realms were indivisible and might be inherited by a woman in default of a male heir. Prussia had promised with the rest, but Frederick never let promises stand in the way of a chance to strengthen himself.

WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION

Frederick's invasion of Silesia started a war known as the War of the Austrian Succession. France, Bavaria, Saxony and Sardinia, each anxious to get some of the scattered Hapsburg possessions, joined Prussia. A war had started the previous year between England and Spain over trade disputes. English merchants were continually selling goods to the Spanish colonies in excess of the one shipload a year allowed them in the Assiento of 1713. Fights were frequent, and a sea-captain named Jenkins, so the story goes, had an ear cut off by the Spaniards. This started a war known as the War of Jenkens' Ear which was merged with the struggle on the continent, Spain joining Prussia, and England helping Austria. Holland also joined Austria. Since each country had its own selfish ends to serve the war was not carried on with any great unity of purpose. After five years Maria Theresa agreed to give Silesia to Frederick and he calmly withdrew. Three years later (1748) the general Peace of Aix La Chapelle was made in which Frederick's occupation of Silesia was confirmed but no other territory changed hands.

THE SEVEN YEARS WAR

No one was satisfied with this inconclusive peace. Maria Theresa, smarting under the humiliations which Frederick had

heaped upon her, spent the next years in building up an alliance against him. France, allured by the promise of Frederick's lands on the Rhine, forgot her two hundred years of hostility to the Hapsburgs and joined Austria. Spain and the two Sicilies followed France into the alliance, which Russia, Sweden and Saxony also joined. The Diplomatic Revolution was made complete by England's alliance with Frederick. The Seven Years War (1756-1763) was bitterly fought. England was preoccupied with her war with France, already begun in the colonies, so that her help was confined largely to money grants and naval operations. This left Frederick surrounded by enemies any one of whom had resources greater than he. He was equal to the task, however, and in his brilliant campaigns proved himself one of the greatest military leaders of all time. The accession of a new Russian czar who was an admirer of Frederick led to Russia's withdrawal in 1762. England's victories over France discouraged the other allies, and the war was brought to an end in 1763 with Frederick's hold on Silesia confirmed.

THE RISE OF RUSSIA

The Seven Years War brought Russia for the first time into a general European conflict and so, before proceeding farther, we will outline briefly the early history of the peoples to the east, who so far have concerned us but little. Slavic peoples settled in the vast plains of Russia and Poland at a very early period, probably even before the golden age of Greece. For centuries they made occasional attacks and invasions against western Europe, the number of Slavs in the Balkan peninsula and in Bohemia and other parts of the former Austro-Hungarian empire being results of these invasions. In the eighth century Northmen invaded the district east of the Baltic and set up a government over several of the Slavic tribes. The name Russia probably comes from Rous, the name given to the Norse invaders by the Finns.

Russia, being nearer to Constantinople than to Rome, borrowed her civilization from the Eastern Roman Empire rather

than the Western. In the tenth century Russia was converted to Christianity by missionaries from the Greek Orthodox Church and has remained Greek Catholic to the present time. Her alphabet also was copied from the Greek. In the thirteenth century one of the successors of Jengis Khan conquered Russia and for more than two centuries Russian princes were forced to pay tribute to the Khan of the Golden Horde. The long contact with the east left an indelible impression so that, although one of the princes of Moscow finally broke away from the Mongol yoke in 1480, Russia remained more of an Asiatic than a European country till the eighteenth century.

The princes of Moscow gradually extended their power to the Caspian Sea and through Siberia to the Pacific. They were cut off from the Black Sea and the Mediterranean by Turkish territories and from the Baltic by a strip of land controlled by Sweden. In 1547 Ivan the Terrible took the title of Czar. The first important ruler of Russia was Peter the Great (1682-1725). Peter had a rough exterior, an uncontrollable temper and no moral scruples whatever; but he had a great deal of common sense, tremendous energy and boundless ambition. By extensive travels in Germany, Holland and England, part of the time disguised as a common sailor, he acquired a great deal of information about western methods of doing things and an immense admiration for western civilization. He sent Russians to the western countries to study and induced foreigners to come to Russia to help him establish reforms. His reforms varied from compelling the Russians to cut off their beards and their coat-tails to the building up of a strong army and navy and an autocratic and highly centralized government. He realized that in order to become a European power Russia must have seaports and directed all of his later years to this end.

After an expedition against the Turks by which he gained temporary control of Azov, he made an alliance with the kings of Poland and Denmark and attacked Sweden. The seventeen year old king of Sweden, the brilliant Charles XII,

was for a time more than a match for the allies, but finally superior numbers told, and Sweden was forced to cede Esthonia, Latvia and part of Finland to Russia. Peter's dream of a "window to the west" was made real by the building of St. Petersburg (Petrograd 1914-1924, now Leningrad) on the Gulf of Finland.

For a time after Peter's death, weak rulers prevented Russia from doing anything of importance, but in 1762 Catherine II came to the throne through the timely assassination of her husband. Catherine, a German by birth, had no feminine qualities except a great fondness for handsome men. In coarseness as well as in political ability and diplomatic finesse she was a match for any of her male contemporaries. From her time to the present Russia has played an important part in the affairs of Europe.

POLAND

The first Polish ruler to be recognized as king was Boleslav (about 1000), who introduced Roman Catholicism as the religion of the country. The new kingdom had no natural boundaries and varied in size from time to time according to the strength of the ruler. In the fourteenth century, Lithuania was joined to Poland by a marriage, making Poland the largest state in Europe with the exception of Russia.

Poland never developed a strong government. There was a large number of nobles, most of them having barely enough land to live on, and each noble had the right to sit in the national assembly or diet. A single vote in the diet could block any measure (the so-called liberum veto), so little was done. The office of king was not hereditary; he was elected by the diet. This meant that there was always strife and often civil war whenever a vacancy occurred. The great majority of the population were peasants, who were kept miserable by the heavy taxes necessary to support so many nobles. There was no trade to speak of and consequently no middle class.

Poland's weaknesses, political and economic, were glaring, but her greatest danger was from her unscrupulous neigh-

bors, Russia, Austria and Prussia. Frederick the Great was particularly desirous of annexing West Prussia, which cut off East Prussia from the rest of his possessions. His proposal to Catherine of Russia that she take the territory east of the Duna and the Dnieper rivers and he take West Prussia was carried out. Maria Theresa, not to be outdone, seized a part of Galicia, thus adding 3,000,000 Poles and Russians to her already heterogeneous population. This first partition, which took place in 1772, roused Poland to the need for radical reform. A great revival of literature and learning took place. Several honest efforts at reform were made, but they were blocked by the machinations of her neighbors, particularly Catherine. It was largely the fear that Poland might become a strong state that led to the second partition in 1793 between Prussia and Russia. In 1795 came the third and final partition, in which Austria again joined. Poland as an independent state ceased to exist until 1919.

COLONIAL WARS

Coincident with the wars in Europe which we have been describing was the long struggle between France and England in India and America for a prize of far greater value than Silesia or West Prussia. We have already described the beginnings of the colonial empires of France and England. By the middle of the eighteenth century the English colonies stretched along the Atlantic coast of North America from Maine to Georgia. In the West Indies, Jamaica, Barbados, the Bahamas and various smaller islands were under the British flag. The French had settled the St. Lawrence valley and pushed a thin line of settlements out along the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi as far as the Ohio. They laid claim to the whole valley of the Mississippi. In the West Indies their principal possessions were Guadaloupe, Hidalgo and the western part of Haiti. By 1750 the English colonists numbered well over a million while the French had a bare sixty thousand. The English colonies were compact and therefore easily defended. Man for man the French colonists were

better woodsmen and fighters and were on much better terms with the Indians. The French had the further advantage of being under one administration closely supervised by the home government while the English had thirteen different colonial governments, each with an elected assembly which had to agree to all levies of troops and grants of money. Although France was a richer and more populous country, the English navy had far outstripped the French, a fact which was to be decisive in the struggle.

The settlement of India offered a different problem from that of America. While America was sparsely settled by people who produced relatively few products wanted by Europeans, India had a dense population and a highly developed agricultural and industrial system. In America permanent settlers produced goods; in India traders bought goods from the natives. Consequently the European population of the settlements in India was never more than a small fraction of the native. By 1700 the British East India Company had three main trading centers in India—Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. The principal posts of the French East India Company were Chandarnagar and Pondicherry. Although India in 1700 was nominally under the control of an emperor descended from the Mongols who had conquered it two centuries before, in reality it was ruled by various native princes, nawabs or nabobs. It was rivalry for the trade and friendship of these native chiefs that first brought about trouble between the French and English.

All of the European wars from 1689 to 1748 had their counterparts in America. In all these colonial wars the French stirred up the Indians to make bloody raids on the English settlements and English expeditions seized French posts in Canada only to have them restored at the end of the war. An exception was Queen Anne's War, the American counterpart of the War of the Spanish Succession, by which England gained permanent control of Acadia (Nova Scotia), Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay territory besides receiving the Assiento from Spain already referred to. After these losses by

the Treaty of Utrecht, France started to strengthen her hold on her remaining territory. A settlement was made at New Orleans in 1718 and a line of forts built along the Mississippi. By 1750 there were more than sixty forts between New Orleans and Montreal to make good France's claim to the Mississippi valley. The English colonies were growing rapidly and adventurous spirits were beginning to push west across the mountains beyond. A conflict was inevitable. It came in 1754 in a struggle for the site which Pittsburgh occupies today. This was known as the French and Indian War and, although it was later merged with the Seven Years War in Europe which started two years later, it was really begun in the colonies and was not merely a secondary campaign of the European war. For the first three years the French were everywhere successful, but a more vigorous policy adopted by the English government, largely due to William Pitt, turned the tide in favor of the English. In 1759 General Wolfe, by a brilliant and daring attack, captured Quebec. The next year Montreal fell, ending France's hopes of a colonial empire in America.

Meanwhile things had been going against the French in India also. Dupleix, a governor-general of unusual ability, appointed in 1741, consolidated the French power by enlisting native troops in the French army and bringing various native states under his control. Fighting took place between the French and English during the War of the Austrian Succession, but nothing decisive happened and Dupleix went on with his plans. He was frustrated by an even more brilliant young Englishman, Clive, a former clerk in the East India Company. In the Seven Years War Clive's army, although badly outnumbered, repeatedly defeated the French, the capture of Pondicherry in 1761 making the English supreme in India.

By the Treaty of Paris, 1763, France surrendered to England the St. Lawrence valley and all the territory east of the Mississippi. All that was left of the French colonial empire in America were a few islands in the West Indies, two tiny

islands off Newfoundland, and Guiana in South America. She was allowed to retain her trading posts in India but might not fortify them or maintain troops there. Spain, who had been dragged into the war in an effort to save France in the closing years, ceded Florida to England, but was indemnified by receiving Louisiana, the western side of the Mississippi valley.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The acquisition of the French colonies was a turning point in England's colonial policy. Until the Peace of Paris she had been too busy winning her colonial empire to give much attention to governing it. She had passed, it is true, various trade and navigation acts designed to control colonial industry and trade in the interest of the whole empire. All of the colonies except Rhode Island and Connecticut had their governors appointed by the English government. But the navigation acts had never been enforced and the colonial legislatures, through their control of the purse, had early learned how to bully the royal governors into granting them what they wanted. The failure of the colonies to cooperate either with the home government or with one another in the Seven Years War showed England's lack of control.

Now in 1763 England had rounded out her empire. What was more natural than that she should try to consolidate and organize it? She was heavily in debt—the war increased her debt from 70,000 to 350,000 pounds—her new territories required greater expenditures for army and navy. What was more natural than that she should call on the colonies to bear a part of the cost of their own defense?

The colonists, left largely to their own devices during the century of England's neglect, had developed political institutions and economic interests of their own which were not in harmony with those of the empire. The war had taught them that under conditions existing in the colonies they were, man for man, better fighters than the British regulars. With France out of the way they no longer felt the need of

England's protection. Many of them resented the condescending attitude which the British officers had adopted toward them. They were not likely to accept meekly England's plans for making them play a minor part in a vast empire.

Grenville, who became prime minister in 1763, instituted the policy of closer control of the colonies. By a royal proclamation all of the territory west of the Alleghanies was reserved for the Indians. In 1764 Parliament passed an act prohibiting new issues of colonial paper money being made legal tender (that is, money which must be accepted in payment of debt). By the Sugar Act of 1764 the duties on foreign sugar and molasses were cut in two, but strenuous measures were taken to ensure their collection. Each of these acts affected a different group. Land speculators and settlers who had bought western lands under old grants saw their titles made worthless; debtors who hoped to pay off their debts in depreciated currency railed against the legal tender act; merchants who had grown rich by smuggling molasses from the Spanish and French West Indies saw their business ruined by the Sugar Act. There was much grumbling but no organized opposition until the Stamp Act of 1765.

Grenville estimated that it would take £300,000,000 to maintain sufficient troops to protect the colonial frontiers and wanted the colonists to pay half this sum. He hoped to raise £50,000 by the Sugar Act and for the other £100,000 he laid a stamp tax on all official and legal documents, newspapers, playing cards, college diplomas, advertisements, etc. The Stamp Act received the accumulated resentment which had been growing against the previous acts. It affected practically the entire population, it could be easily and openly nullified and above all it was open to the argument that it was illegal as well as unjust. The colonists, so the argument ran, were British citizens who had lost none of their rights by migrating to America. One of the fundamental rights of a British citizen was "No taxation without representation." The colonists had no representation in Parliament; they did have representation in their own legislatures. The legislatures

alone, therefore, had power to tax them. The argument that they had not previously objected to taxes on imports was met by the assertion that such taxes were for the purpose of controlling trade, which was a proper function of Parliament; that they were external taxes while the stamp tax was an internal tax.

Nine colonies sent delegates to a congress in New York City, which adopted a declaration of rights and a formal protest to the king. Non-importation agreements, that is, agreements not to import goods from England, were adopted. People everywhere refused to buy stamps. Mobs paraded the streets, destroyed the stamped papers wherever they could find them and forced the collectors to resign.

Little attention had been paid to the passage of the Stamp Act in England and most Englishmen were amazed by the furore it created. Public sentiment was not prepared to enforce the act by arms, which was the only way it could be enforced. Merchants, feeling the loss of trade due to the non-importation agreements, flooded Parliament with petitions for the repeal of the act. A group of Whigs, led by Rockingham and Pitt, who opposed the arbitrary methods of the king and sympathized with the claims of the colonies, came into power and repealed the Stamp Act. At the same time, however, the Declaratory Act asserting Parliament's complete power over the colonies was passed.

The repeal pleased moderates on both sides of the Atlantic. A new era of good feeling seemed to be opening up. George III, however, was a pig-headed person and he had several narrow-minded ministers who were chagrined at the way the colonists had avoided paying taxes. Pitt's retirement from the cabinet because of poor health gave them the opportunity to show their lack of statesmanship. In 1767 Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, secured the passage of an act laying duties on glass, lead, paper and tea imported into the colonies. Since the colonies had objected to internal taxes he would give them external taxes. The money received was to be used for the payment of salaries of royal governors

and judges in the colonies and a board of commissioners, resident in the colonies, was set up for the better enforcement of the act.

The colonists met this act with the usual protests and non-importation agreements. There was less rioting than the Stamp Act had called forth, but the colonists were driven into more arguments. Since these were external taxes the only logical argument was that Parliament had no right to legislate for the colonies at all. The loss of business to English merchants was again decisive and largely due to their petitions the Townshend Acts were repealed in 1770. The gesture of the Declaratory Act was repeated by the retention of the three pence per pound duty on tea.

Once more a crisis seemed past. The colonies were prosperous and bought ever increasing amounts of English goods. The non-importation agreement on tea was still in force, but tea was smuggled in from the Dutch and the three pence tax forgotten. For three years the colonies were scarcely mentioned in Parliament. The fundamental question of Parliament's right to legislate for the colonies had not been settled, however, and was bound to come up again. It came in 1773 through Lord North's attempt to help his friends in the British East India Company.

The British East India Company had a monopoly of the importation of tea into England but was required to pay a tax of about twenty-four per cent of the value of all tea imported. Tea going to the colonies had to be first landed in England and pay the tax. The company was in financial difficulties and to help it Parliament passed a law rebating the tax on tea shipped to America but retaining the American tax of three pence per pound. This meant that in spite of the three pence tax the colonists could buy tea cheaper than the people of England, cheaper in fact than they could buy it from smugglers.

The purpose of the act seems to have been solely to help the British East India Company, but the colonists looked upon it as an attempt to bribe them to pay the tax. If people

could be induced to buy tea it meant that non-importation agreements were a failure. Smugglers who saw their lucrative trade with the Dutch broken up were especially loud in their condemnation of the act. Throughout the colonies protest meetings were held and violent speeches made. In New York and Philadelphia the tea ships were sent back to England with their cargoes, but in Boston Governor Hutchinson refused to sign clearance papers. On December 16, 1773, a group of men disguised as Indians boarded the tea ships and threw the tea into the harbor.

This Boston Tea Party convinced even the friends of the colonies in England that strenuous measures must be taken. Here was open defiance of law and, worse still, an attack on the sanctity of private property. Parliament passed the "Intolerable Acts"—closing the port of Boston until the tea was paid for, modifying the Massachusetts charter to bring the colony under closer control, quartering troops on the colonies, providing that royal officials accused of capital offenses committed in the course of duty be sent to England for trial, and extending the boundaries of Quebec to the Ohio river and thus cutting off lands claimed by Massachusetts, Connecticut and Virginia. Although the acts were aimed primarily at Massachusetts, the other colonies realized that the interests of all were at stake and men of all shades of opinion united in opposition. In September, 1774, delegates from all the colonies except Georgia met in the First Continental Congress at Philadelphia. The congress sent a petition to the king and provided for non-importation, non-consumption and non-exportation agreements. Moreover, it provided for the "American Association," a committee in every county, city, and town to supervise the enforcement of these agreements.

Meanwhile Massachusetts was drifting into war. Boston was occupied by British troops under General Gage. Town committees, inspired by Samuel Adams, the first man in America to think of independence, a skillful politician and a tireless opponent of England, began to drill troops and gather ammunition. A detachment of British troops marching out

to seize munitions stored at Concord met a small body of minute men, as the colonists who had been drilling were called, drawn up on the green at Lexington, and fired on them. This was the "shot heard round the world." The British, after destroying the few munitions found at Concord, marched back to Boston, and were fired upon from behind every tree and stone wall by enraged colonists who poured in from all sides. The war had begun.

The series of events which had brought the colonies to the point of war seems, superficially, to have been the result of stupidity on the part of British officials and selfishness on the part of the colonists. Petty actions and sordid motives there were in plenty on both sides. But beneath it all there was a fundamental difference in point of view. England felt that the colonies were an integral part of the empire. They should be guarded and their prosperity fostered, but in the interest of the empire as a whole. Since the interests of the mother country were more important than those of the colonies, where they conflicted the colonies must suffer. To most Englishmen the interests of England were identical with the interests of the merchants who controlled the House of Commons. They believed that the colonies were represented in Parliament just as many parts of England were, not directly but virtually through men of similar interests; that is, merchants and landowners in Parliament represented merchants and landowners and those dependent upon them in all parts of the empire.

The colonists were naturally the more independent and progressive elements in the English population, else they would never have left their homes to settle in a wilderness. Thrown on their own resources and neglected for a century, they had developed a more independent spirit and, what is even more important, economic interests not in harmony with those of the empire as a whole. They believed that they were subjects of the king with all the rights which such subjects possessed. They had direct representation in their own assemblies but none in Parliament. Their assemblies alone, therefore, had the

right to legislate for them. Virtual representation did not appeal to them. If Birmingham and Leeds had no representation they should have.

We have spoken as if sentiment were unanimous on both sides. It is easy to fall into the pernicious habit of speaking of the feeling of a country when what is meant is the feeling of a small group able to make its feeling effective. Opinion was divided on both sides, in the colonies as much as in England. The great majority of the people of the colonies was indifferent; the revolution was the work of a few leaders and the leaders themselves were divided. In every colony there were sharp social and political distinctions. Every colony had a property qualification for voting and a higher property qualification for holding office. The older communities had a larger representation in the legislatures in proportion to population than the frontiers. Wealthy families—merchants of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Charleston, owners of great plantations in Virginia and holders of vast estates along the Hudson—controlled the government, monopolized most of the offices, and made up "society" in their respective colonies. Many of the most radical leaders smarted under the snubs of the élite or resented their exclusion from high office fully as much as they did the repressive laws of England. Neither John nor Samuel Adams moved in the "best circles" in Boston; neither Patrick Henry nor Thomas Jefferson belonged to the ruling aristocracy in Virginia. These men and their associates from the frontier counties and the outer fringes of urban society were as anxious to democratize America as to win freedom from England.

The conservatives were aware of the situation. Many solid citizens who had not been "averse to a little rioting" as a protest against the Stamp Act, favored legal means alone in opposing the Townshend Acts. Wealthy merchants and landowners felt that the loss of their political and social prestige was too high a price to pay even for the repeal of laws which they believed to be unjust. The feeling that a united front was necessary kept most of the conservatives in line to vote

for the radical measures of the First Continental Congress and forced them to face the issue of subjection or open rebellion. A third of all the colonists, including most of the wealthy and "well-born," chose submission. They became the hated loyalists.

Although many of the loyalists abstained from voting for delegates to the Second Continental Congress which met three weeks after the battle of Lexington, there were enough moderates present to force the adoption of a middle course. The Congress adopted the body of farmers encamped around Boston as the Continental army and appointed George Washington Commander-in-Chief. But at the same time it sent a conciliatory petition to the king. Most of the leaders, conservative and radical, believed that a show of force combined with protestations of loyalty would lead England to yield. They were encouraged in this belief by the open statements of friendship by many influential people in England. Only a handful of radicals thought of independence in 1775, but the course of events was destined to play into their hands.

The king not only ignored the "olive branch petition" but issued a proclamation calling the colonists rebels. Parliament prohibited all trade with the colonies. Washington gradually transformed the mob of undisciplined, ununiformed and poorly armed recruits into an army which seized the heights commanding Boston and forced the British to withdraw. The colonies found it difficult to get foreign nations to trade with them while they remained British colonies. Most important of all in turning the tide toward independence were the writings of an obscure journalist who had arrived from England but thirteen months before, Thomas Paine.

Paine, son of a respectable Quaker, left school at the age of thirteen and tried his hand at various occupations—sailor, grocer, stay-maker, excise officer, tutor and preacher, besides writing poetry and studying philosophy for his own amusement. At none of them did he make money, but he picked up a great deal of information about the world and the people who inhabit it. In 1774, having just lost his position as a

collector of excise for the second time for neglect of duty, he met Benjamin Franklin, then in London as an agent for the colonies, and on Franklin's advice sailed for America. He arrived in Philadelphia in the exciting days before the battle of Lexington and became a patriot overnight. For him who had seen the corruption of the British government and the snobbery of British society at first hand, England had none of the enchantment which distance lent it to some of the colonists.

In January, 1776, when many were being pulled toward independence by the logic of events but held back by the force of tradition, his pamphlet *Common Sense* appeared. It put into words, devastating in their simplicity, what many felt but were unable to express. He wasted few words in quibbling over Parliament's right to do this or that, but went straight to the root of the question, the authority of the king. He not only denied the king's right to govern the colonies but attacked the whole theory of hereditary monarchy. The king is a "sceptred savage," a "royal brute." "All government is bad but why, if we must have one, choose the worst, hereditary monarchy?" "Of more worth is one honest man to society . . . than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived."

Judged by its effect, *Common Sense* is one of the most important documents in American history. One hundred and twenty thousand copies were sold in three months and later editions were rapidly exhausted. Washington declared that it "worked a powerful change in the minds of many men." It made certain the Declaration of Independence. As its critics have pointed out, its arguments are shallow and its language coarse, but they appealed to the people of the time as sounder arguments and politer words would never have done.

Paine served in various capacities during the Revolution. The opening words of *The Crisis*, written by him in the troubled days of 1777, "These are the times that try men's souls," have become classic. He returned to England in 1787, and wrote *The Rights of Man* as an answer to Burke's attack on the French Revolution. Indicted for treason because of

the sentiments expressed in this work he escaped to France, where he was elected to the Convention. Here he soon won the enmity of Robespierre and was thrown into prison, where he completed *The Age of Reason.* This book, a passionate exposition of his religious beliefs, which were not unlike those of Franklin, Jefferson and other prominent men of the time, ruined his reputation in Puritanical America. On his return to the United States in 1802 he was hooted by the mob, who forgot the author of *The Crisis* and *Common Sense* and remembered Paine only as the infidel who wrote *The Age of Reason.* Too earnest to be reasonable, too honest to be popular, too intelligent to be understood, Tom Paine deserves a place beside the Adamses, Washington, Franklin and Jefferson as one of the founders of the United States.

Inspired by Paine's flaming words, the colonists came to see that independence was inevitable. On July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence, largely the work of Thomas Jefferson, was adopted. As a justification for the break with England Jefferson made use of the doctrine of natural rights as formulated by John Locke. Men are endowed with certain inalienable rights—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Governments are instituted to make these rights more secure. When a government ceases to do this it should be overthrown. The doctrine of natural rights has no basis in historic fact, but nevertheless it has been a powerful weapon in the struggle for democracy. The Declaration of Independence, eloquent in its simplicity, stands as one of the foremost expositions of this doctrine.

The long story of the war is too familiar to need repetition. For the colonies it was a story of strategic retreats, indecisive defeats and occasional brilliant victories; a story of resourcefulness, courage and tenacity on the part of a few in the face of hardship, bankruptcy, jealousy and treason, in the face of indifference on the part of a great majority and the active hostility of most of the wealthy. That the colonies, weak, disunited, each jealous of the other and each torn by internal strife, were finally able to force England to recognize their

independence seems almost a miracle. It was due mainly to three factors.

In the first place, the colonists were fighting on their own soil by methods at which they were past masters. The British found no trouble in occupying seaports, but when it came to invading territory back from the coast they found their knowledge of military tactics and their superior equipment of little value. In the second place, the English people were never wholeheartedly united in support of the war. The king was unpopular personally because of his autocracy, and the war was regarded as one of his pet projects. Many felt that the colonists were really fighting the battles of Englishmen. Some of the Whig leaders openly favored the colonies and a host of the common people sympathized with them. Even among the generals who were responsible for the conduct of the war in America there was considerable sympathy for the colonial cause. General Howe evidently hoped to win the colonies by a conciliatory policy and tried to avoid administering a crushing defeat. In no other way can his failure to conduct the war more vigorously in 1776 and 1777 be explained. The third decisive factor was the French alliance made in 1778.

There was, doubtlessly, considerable sympathy among the French people for the ideals of liberty avowed by the colonists, but this had no influence in inducing the corrupt and autocratic government of Louis XVI to favor their cause. To the French government the Revolution was but another chance to strike at the old enemy England, with the possibility of gaining territory in the West Indies, or at least preventing the colonies from making peace and joining England in an attack on the French West Indies. In 1779 Spain, with her eye on Gibraltar, also declared war on England. Except in the final campaign at Yorktown the military aid furnished by France was not important. Her navy was of service in forcing England to use part of her fleet to protect her own coasts and shipping. France's main contribution was financial. Without her loans to the impoverished and impotent Continental Congress the colonies could never have continued the struggle.

The surrender of Cornwallis to Washington at Yorktown, October 17, 1781, led to the downfall of Lord North's ministry and the formation of a new cabinet made up of Whig friends of the colonies. Peace negotiations were started immediately, but the treaty was not signed until September 3, 1783. The independence of the colonies was recognized, their claim to the Mississippi valley was granted and their right to fish off the coast of Newfoundland guaranteed.

Besides establishing a new nation destined to play an increasingly important part in the affairs of the world, the American Revolution had other far-reaching results. The concrete example of a nation founded, theoretically at least, on the ideals of liberty, helped to further those ideals among the French philosophers already enamored of natural rights. From France, as we shall see, these ideals spread throughout Europe. The loss of England's richest and most populous colonies weakened faith in the old mercantilist ideas as to the value of colonies. If colonial trade could not be secured for the mother country exclusively, why go to the trouble of protecting colonies? The fact that England's trade with the independent states soon far outstripped what it had ever been with them as colonies still farther strengthened laissez faire ideas at the expense of mercantilism. Interest in building up colonial empires lagged for nearly a century.

Perhaps most important was the effect of the Revolution on England. The defeat by the colonies was regarded as a personal defeat for the king and helped end his attempt to override the cabinet system. Never since has an English ruler questioned the right of Parliament to control the ministry. The loss of these colonies also helped liberalize England's policy toward her other colonies, at least toward those inhabited mainly by Englishmen. The Revolution was the first step in the long evolution of dominion self government which culminated in the fall of 1926 with the declaration by the Imperial Conference that the parliaments of England and the dominions were on a plane of equality.

IMPORTANT DATES

1588 Destruction of Armada ends Spain's sea power.
1589-1610 Henry IV of France encourages trade and colonization.
1624-1642 Richelieu supreme in France.
1647-1661 Mazarin supreme in France.
1643-1715 Louis XIV.
1667-1678 Louis' wars for natural boundaries.
1672-1725 Peter the Great of Russia.
1686-1697 War of League of Augsburg (King William's War).
1701 Elector of Brandenburg becomes King of Prussia.
1701-1713 War of Spanish Succession (Queen Anne's War).
1714 George I becomes King of England.
1740-1786 Frederick the Great of Prussia.
1740-1748 War of Austrian Succession (King George's War).
1756-1763 Seven Years War (French and Indian War).
1763 England gets French Colonies in India and America.
1762-1796 Catherine the Great of Russia.
1772, 1793, 1795 Three partitions of Poland.
1765 Stamp Act.
1767 Townshend Acts.
1773 Boston Tea Party.
1774 First Continental Congress.
1776 Declaration of Independence.
1781 Cornwallis surrenders.
1783 Treaty of Paris. Independence of American colonies recognized.

CHAPTER XI

The Old Regime

We have thus far endeavored to give a brief outline of man's slow progress through the centuries, dwelling upon the origin and development of those ideas, habits, customs and institutions, which will help us to understand the world in which we live today.

We shall now pause to describe the Old Regime, as the order of things in the eighteenth century is commonly called, not merely for the purpose of preparing the way for a study of the intensely interesting and dramatic French Revolution, but rather in order to provide a background which will enable us to contrast the present and the past.

It is a common, but none the less striking comparison that a modern historian makes when he writes that "Pericles, Julius Caesar or Charlemagne would have been at home amid the social and economic conditions familiar to Louis XIV, Frederick the Great or George III." Because few changes had taken place in the general living conditions of the people of Europe from the third to the eighteenth century it would be easier for a Roman boy to understand and appreciate them than it is for us, despite the fact that in point of time the eighteenth century is ten times nearer to us. But we are familiar with railroads and telephones, steamships and automobiles, threshing machines and farm tractors. These, in the time perspective of history, are quite new, the discoveries of yesterday, which have revolutionized our world.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

In discussing conditions, social, political, and economic, that existed about 1750, we must remember that they varied

widely in different parts of Europe. In England, France and Holland and in the neighborhood of a few cities in Germany and Italy, trade had already transformed life, but throughout the vast areas of Russia, Poland, Austria, Germany, Spain and the Balkan peninsula the influence of trade was felt hardly at all and conditions were much the same as they had been for centuries. In the eighteenth century the cultivation of the soil was the chief occupation of the vast majority of the people, and throughout most of Europe it was still cultivated as it had been for centuries. The manor system with its scattered strips of cultivated land, the three field system of tillage, the wooden plow and the hand sickle still prevailed. Most of the people were still serfs.

As we have already told, the agricultural revolution—the use of clover and other grass seeds, the growing of more root crops, rotation of crops and improvements in breeding and raising cattle—had transformed English agriculture. In England serfdom was extinct. In France conditions were not so advanced as in England, but they were much better than they were elsewhere in Europe. It is estimated that about two-thirds of the land of France belonged to the nobility and clergy, who turned it over to lessees whose rent consisted of a share of the crops, usually amounting to about one half. Serfdom had died out in most of France, but traces of it still survived in the feudal dues that the peasant had to pay the owner of the land. These varied widely in different sections. Often the peasant was compelled to use the lord's mill, oven or wine press and pay a fee for the privilege. Sometimes the lord had the right to charge tolls for the use of roads and bridges. There were also numerous fees or presents that had to be given to the lord on holidays or other special occasions.

About one third of the land was owned by the peasants who worked it, but even these peasant proprietors had to pay the lord a portion of the purchase price, usually one fifth, if the land were sold. At the death of a proprietor his estate was divided among all his children and in some cases "this

process had been repeated so many times that a farm might almost be shaded by a single cherry tree." The life of the peasant, whether he owned his own land or rented it, was not an easy one. "His cottage is not attractive, a low thatched building, perhaps without a floor. The barn is close against it and the family is not averse to seeking the warmth of the cattle and of the dunghill. The windows are without glass, and pigs and chickens wander in and out the open door."

Over large parts of the continent the guild system of manufacture still prevailed, goods being made to order for the local market by the master workman with his journeymen and apprentices. Each jealously guarded its monopoly by restrictions and prevented progress by its fixed regulations as to just how all work must be done. Local governments, largely controlled by the guilds, enforced these regulations.

In England the growth of trade had brought the capitalist into manufacture and in most industries the domestic system had supplanted the guilds. English industry, however, was still dominated by mercantilist theories. Trade and manufacture were fostered by navigation acts, protective tariffs, monopolies and bounties. Trade was constantly growing and the demand for manufactured goods for trade was soon to bring about a tremendous change in economic life—the industrial revolution.

France had a large foreign trade and considerable manufacture, but mercantilist theories were even stronger in France than in England. Colbert, Louis XIV's minister, and arch-apostle of mercantilism, had revived and strengthened the old guild restrictions, now enforced by the absolute national government. Domestic trade was hampered by interior customs lines; that is, in transporting goods the merchant had to pay a tariff every time he crossed a provincial boundary line. These restrictions on trade and manufacture were one of the main grievances which finally led the bourgeoisie to revolt against the government.

With the growth of trade, towns were increasing in size and number. It is estimated that there were about eighty

towns in Europe that had a population of 10,000 or more. Although some of them had outgrown their walls, most of them were still medieval in character. The streets were narrow, crooked, dirty and unlighted; there were no pavements or no sidewalks; there were no sewers or facilities for disposal of garbage; London with her half million population was more modern. She had a few fine buildings, but her poorly lighted streets and her inadequate police force made her notorious for robberies and crimes of violence. Paris, a little larger than London, had already laid out her boulevards and part of her beautiful parks, but most of the streets were still narrow, dirty, and undrained. Amsterdam, Antwerp, Hamburg, were thriving centers of industry and trade.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

The characteristic political institution of the eighteenth century was a national state controlled by an absolute monarch. Absolutism is the name applied either to the practice or the theory of unlimited power and control. It finds its classical expression in the statement so often attributed to Louis XIV, but which he probably never uttered, "*L'état c'est moi,*"—I am the state.

We have already examined the emergence of the national state from the chaos of feudalism. Why in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did autocracy develop in the national state rather than democracy? First, probably, because of the very conditions of its birth. Commercial expansion created the demand for the centralization of power and authority in the hands of the king in place of the chaotic powers exercised by feudal lords and petty knights in the days of chivalry. Secondly, in those countries where absolutism developed there was a remarkable succession of really able rulers, for example the Tudors in England, the Bourbons in France and the Hohenzollerns in Prussia. Thirdly, we have called attention to the influence of changed methods of warfare, which put into the hands of the king a permanent well-trained army, cannon and muskets with which he could overpower rebel-

lious nobles and crush any popular opposition to his exercise of arbitrary power. Fourthly, we have seen that the Protestant Revolution gave rise to nationalistic religious systems which in addition to giving the kings an opportunity to enrich themselves by confiscating church property, also gave them control over church affairs and in many instances made them the supreme heads of the newly established state religion. As a final cause it is well to remember that the position of the king was sanctified by religion. Charlemagne was crowned by the Pope and hailed as "Augustus, crowned by God, Emperor of the Romans." His successors were crowned by the Pope or his representative; the crowning of a king was essentially a religious ceremony.

The close union of the church and state that prevailed so long lent color to the theory, gradually developed, that the king ruled by the grace of God, and was responsible to Him alone. This divine right theory of kingship was thoroughly entrenched on the continent of Europe although it had received serious blows at the hands of the English in the seventeenth century when they revolted against the absolutism of the Stuarts. The idea had its prototype in oriental civilization where the king was not infrequently deified and worshipped as a god. Bossuet, a French bishop, developed a famous defense of divine right in which he argued that absolute monarchy was ordained by God. Since God ruled the world through kings, said Bossuet, it was blasphemy to question the king's absolute power. If subjects were unfortunate enough to have a bad king they could only pray to God that his heart might be changed.

The Florentine writer, Machiavelli, in his book on politics called *The Prince*, carried the theory of absolutism to the dangerous extreme, all too frequently practiced, that the king should execute his purpose by fair means or foul. All actions, no matter how unjust or tyrannous, were justifiable if they accomplished their purpose. These ideas of divine right and absolutism may seem odd in the twentieth century but we must remember that two hundred years ago absolutism

as a theory of government was just as warmly and unquestionably accepted, just as commonly justified, and just as much considered the last word in the development of political ideals as democracy is today.

In England, as we have seen, Parliament had overthrown absolutism along with divine right, but on the continent absolutism prevailed everywhere. The King of France was supreme in all branches of government, legislative, executive and judicial. He made the laws. He levied the taxes and spent the money as he pleased, rendering an account to no one. He appointed and removed at will all officials and judges. He could take a case from a court and decide it himself. He could imprison a person without the semblance of a trial by the use of *lettres de cachet* (sealed letters). These *lettres de cachet* were often distributed to the king's favorites who used them to get rid of their enemies. The unfortunate prisoner's release could not be brought about by any legal process and he might languish in prison indefinitely without knowing his offense.

The able monarchs who ushered in the era of royal absolutism personally attended to the affairs of government, but as their position became secure they began to entrust the details of finance and administration to a group of favorites. There are of course exceptions to this rule, notably the energetic and ambitious Louis XIV of France, who took the business of kingship seriously. But in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries most of the kings were too much interested in the pursuit of pleasure, too frequently lacking in common sense and ordinary business ability, too much absorbed in scandalous love affairs, to pay much attention to the job that the accident of birth had thrust upon them. The actual management of affairs was entrusted to a council of ministers and numerous subordinate officials, all of whom were, of course, directly responsible to the king. The real control of government was, therefore, in the hands of a bureaucracy, a group of public officials who either inherited office, purchased it or had it bestowed upon them as the king saw fit to grant

a favor or indulge a whim. Just as today politicians frequently create offices in order to appoint some political favorite to a lucrative position, so the bureaucrats created offices to provide for their relatives, or to sell them to the highest bidder. These bureaucrats were the real governing authority in the dynastic states.

In France, the government reposed in the Royal Council, which was a body of about thirty members, including all the important ministers of state and the lesser officials. They were assisted by approximately thirty intendants, who had entire charge of the various districts of France, collecting taxes, interfering with local affairs, suspending laws, and granting pardons and exemptions. These intendants were the agencies through which central administrative control was attained. They possessed great power and exercised it in the most arbitrary fashion. The kings of France let things drift, leaving most of the business of government to their officials. Needless to say, gross injustice was done the mass of the people in the name of the king, who had little knowledge of what was going on, and who, it must be added, would have been callously indifferent if he had known.

There was in France no national legislative body to check the king's extravagances or to authorize the imposition of new taxes or to enact laws. There had been in the Middle Ages, as we have seen, the Estates-General, in which the three orders or estates of clergy, nobility and peasants were represented. But the Estates-General had not been summoned since 1614 and consequently can be considered as non-existent. In some of the provinces, towns and parishes of France there were local assemblies of the people, but not infrequently the king's intendants directed their affairs, sanctioned their meeting, and ignored their decrees or actions. The only agency that in any way restricted the action of the French king was the thirteen parlements, and especially the Parlement of Paris. The parlements were not legislative bodies but the highest law courts. In order that they might know the law, all the king's decrees were sent to them to be registered.

Originally, registration was a mere matter of form, but gradually the parlements began to criticize certain laws as being contrary to the custom of the country, and toward the close of the eighteenth century they even refused to register some of the king's decrees. Upon such refusal the king might either recall the decree or hold a *lit de justice* (bed of justice), that is summon the parlement before him and personally order the law registered. Thus in the last analysis the parlements had no absolute veto over the king's acts.

Apart from the arbitrary tyranny of the king and his officials, a cause of confusion and dissatisfaction in France and most other countries was due to the fact that the laws were not uniform and were not administered uniformly throughout the country. The national states had been formed by welding together peoples who were akin in language but who for centuries had been ruled by feudal lords and princes. During these centuries many local differences of law, custom and tradition had developed. The dynastic kings were wisely unwilling to arouse the resentment of newly-acquired subjects by compelling them to abandon long-established habits and conform to a single standard. Each district was allowed to keep its own laws. Very often whole provinces were exempted from a tax or freed from the obligation of obeying certain laws. There were more than two hundred and fifty different local codes of law in force in France. The price of salt, which was controlled by the government, varied from seven to fifty-eight francs for the same quantity in different sections.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Socially, eighteenth century Europe was divided into two groups, the privileged and the unprivileged. Inequality was established by law. The unprivileged comprised the mass of the people—serfs, peasants, artisans, bourgeoisie. The privileged were the nobles and the clergy. Everywhere the nobles were supported by the labor of the unprivileged, everywhere they had a monopoly of the important offices, everywhere they were exempt from many taxes and obligations. In the

Middle Ages the nobility had performed a real service. They governed their estates, put down robbers and protected their people from attacks of foreign invaders or neighboring nobles. In the eighteenth century, in most of the countries of continental Europe, although the king's power had grown, the nobles still ruled their domains and performed important functions. In France they no longer rendered any real service, but they still claimed all of their privileges.

Out of a French population of 25,000,000 hardly more than 200,000 were privileged. At the royal court at Versailles it has been estimated that 18,000 nobles and courtiers lived upon the public treasury. These parasites fawned upon the king and sought by flattery and pretty speeches to win favors either for themselves or their friends. They were scrupulous in their dress, manners and speech; in morals they were not so scrupulous. To be well mannered and well groomed, to act always in good taste, was their ideal; it mattered not if they were extravagant, overbearing, unsympathetic and unjust.

The nobles entrusted the management of their estates to stewards whose duty it was to exact the utmost farthing from the all but empty pockets of the peasants and to forward a plentiful supply of cash to their lords at the court. The "nobility of the sword," that is, those families that had been ennobled in the Middle Ages, looked down upon the upstart "nobility of the robe," who could trace their claim back only a generation or two. These newer nobles had been granted patents of nobility by the king in return for some gift or favor which was in the nature of a purchase price for the title. They in turn looked down upon the poorer nobles who lived upon their estates.

In France each son of a noble was a noble, entitled to be saluted as "Your Grace, Your Lordship." There was, therefore, an endless multiplication of the useless nobility, all claiming the special rights and privileges of their class. In England only the oldest son inherited the father's title, the younger sons were commoners and mingled with the bour-

geoisie in politics and business. There were fewer nobles in England than in France, and although the English nobles enjoyed wealth and powers denied to others in the kingdom, they paid the same taxes as other citizens and were subject to the same laws. They were never so hated by the common people as were the French nobles.

One of the main privileges of the French nobility was exemption from certain taxes. In France as elsewhere the taxes were many and various. The principal ones were the *taille,* a tax on land and on income from certain industries, the *vingtième* or twentieth, an income tax, the *gabelle* or salt tax and the *corvée,* a tax paid not in money but in labor on roads, bridges and other public works. There were also indirect taxes on tobacco, wine and cider, and import and export duties on goods sent from one district to another. The indirect taxes were not collected directly by the government but were farmed out to the highest bidder. The more the farmers-general could collect the more they had for themselves. The nobles were exempt from the *taille,* and by unfair assessments and special favors from the collectors they managed to escape most of the others.

The nobles monopolized most of the higher offices of the government. They held all the commissions in the army, but were seldom with their regiments. The number of soldiers under Louis XVI was less than one hundred and fifty thousand actually with the colors. There were thirty-six thousand officers on paper; thirteen thousand actively employed. The soldiers cost the state more than forty-four million livres a year, the officers more than forty-six million livres. The nobles enjoyed hunting rights that were disastrous to the peasants; game preserves were maintained for their benefit, and the peasants were not allowed to kill the game that destroyed their crops. They maintained dove-cotes and innumerable pigeons, who fed upon the seed and crops of the farmer. In the chase it was the noble's privilege to trample across a farmer's field. They collected tolls, they enjoyed the oven, mill and wine-press monopolies and received the hateful

lettres de cachet from the king. It is little wonder when the Revolution came they found few friends outside their own order.

The clergy were equally privileged. They were exempt from practically all the taxes and from military service. They controlled vast estates, collected the tithes, and many of the religious orders carried on profitable businesses. They controlled education, dispensed charity, censored books. Ecclesiastical courts still tried a large variety of cases.

In speaking of the clergy, it is necessary to distinguish between the higher clergy, bishops and archbishops, and the lower clergy, the parish priests. The latter were often poorly paid, living lives of humble poverty and self-sacrifice among the peasants. They ministered to the people, baptizing them, marrying them, burying them, bringing to them the comfort and solace of religion, advising them in their everyday problems. When the Revolution finally came, most of the parish priests sided with the people. The higher clergy, supported by the income of large estates and the tithes, lived lives of luxury little troubled by the religious and spiritual duties of their office. Many of them never went to their posts at all, but swelled the group of dissipated courtiers at Versailles. Frequently dissolute young nobles were made bishops for the sake of the income involved.

It was the task of the unprivileged classes to support this top-heavy social system. The vast sums which the French kings squandered on their court and on useless positions for their favorites had to be raised by taxation, and the fact that so many were exempt made the burden all the harder for the others. Just as there were distinctions among the privileged classes—the old and new nobility, the higher and lower clergy —so, too, were there distinctions among the unprivileged. There were land-owning peasants, peasants who rented lands, and agricultural laborers and serfs. In the cities there were the poorly paid artisans and the bourgeoisie. The latter is the most important group. The bourgeoisie were the possessors of the brains and money of the old regime. To them the old

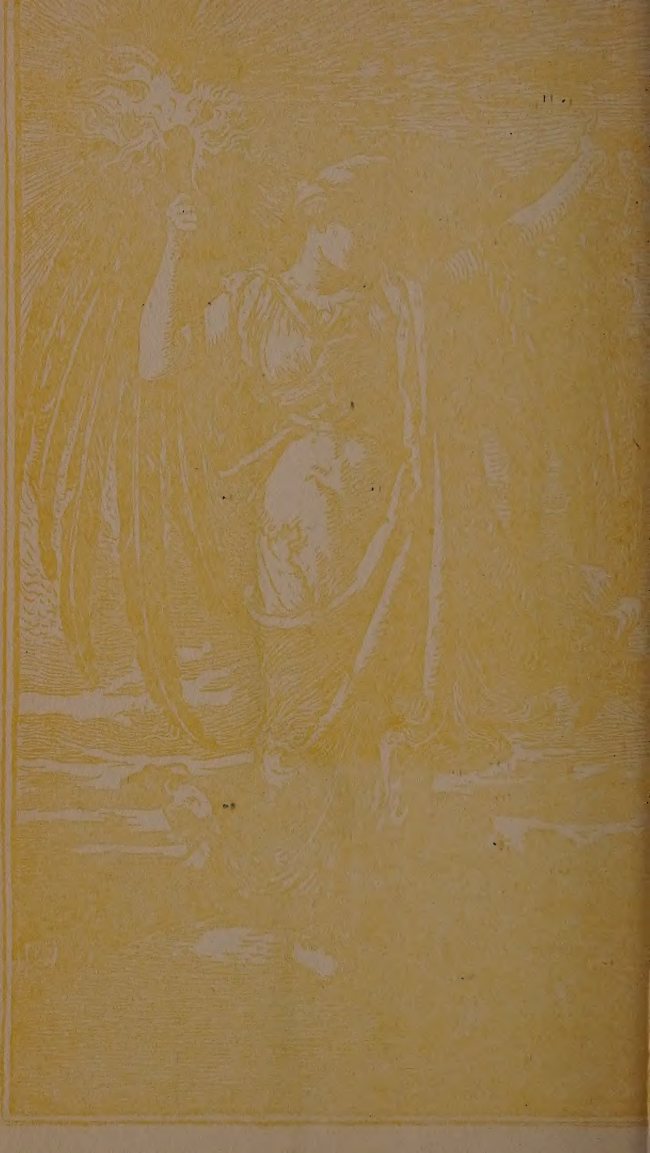
regime was most irksome and annoying. Taxes, government inefficiency and corruption hampered business; antiquated laws, unjust laws, unequal laws interfered with their profits. A bankrupt and extravagant government consumed their taxes and gave them nothing in return.

The old regime was based upon privilege, inequality and class distinction. It was out of joint with the changed conditions in commerce, overseas trade and business. The bourgeoisie knew it. Their dissatisfaction was acute, active, constant; not passive or sporadic, like that of the peasants. They imbibed the teachings of the philosophers who attacked the old regime. It was the bourgeoisie rather than the peasants of France who carried forward the Revolution. It was the bourgeoisie who with few exceptions supplied the leaders of the Revolution. It was the bourgeoisie who triumphed by the annihilation of the old order. The French Revolution was, in short, essentially a bourgeois revolution. Partly as a result of the French Revolution and partly due to other causes, the bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century have taken control of governments and now occupy the same position of wealth, power, influence and privilege once possessed by the privileged classes of the regime.

We have said several times that great changes come slowly, that there are few sudden breaks in man's development. Our brief review of the old regime bears out this fact. In a sense it was a far different world in the eighteenth century from what it had been in the eighth. The growth of trade, the crusades, the Renaissance and the Protestant revolt had all had far-reaching effects. Europeans were thinking of themselves more and more as Frenchmen, or Spaniards, or Englishmen. National literatures had developed. Europe had pushed out across the Atlantic to explore and partly settle a new hemisphere. Already one group of settlers had broken loose from European apron-strings and was beginning the struggle for national existence. But if a man of the eighth century, or even one of the first, could have come back to the earth for a visit he would have been struck more by the

sameness of things than by the changes. The great mass of Europeans were still illiterate, still hedged about by custom and tradition. Except for a few in the cities of Europe, they still made their living and spent their leisure as their remote ancestors had done. The idea that the common man should have a voice in the government was still unheard of. Outside of Europe and America even fewer changes had taken place. Conditions in China were much as they had been for centuries. Except for the presence of a few more English soldiers and traders, India had changed but little. The Mohammedan world was going backward rather than forward. Africa was still the dark continent, unknown to the rest of the world.

The world of the eighteenth century was, however, pregnant with changes. The forces that had produced changes in the past were still at work. Ideas were brewing in men's minds, revolutionary ideas destined to refashion the world. The rate of progress seems to have been constantly accelerated during the past two hundred years. Each generation has seen its mode of life transformed. There are men living today who have seen greater changes in their lifetime than took place from the fall of Rome to the Declaration of Independence. But mankind can not forget its past. In spite of our modern surroundings, most of our instincts are still those of our savage ancestors. Many of our ideas, our prejudices and our moral standards are still medieval. He who would understand the present must know the background of the present. This is the real purpose of history. If this short survey has helped to make clearer some of the foundations on which modern civilization is built, it has fulfilled its purpose.



THE CAUSE OF
LABOUR IS THE
HOPE OF THE WORLD
Proclaim Liberty throughout
All the land unto All the
Inhabitants thereof.